133 and feed the great tular. To the west of its central waterway was barren ground little used
[224 save for rabbit drives by the Tachi; to the
311] east was the fertile land watered by snows of the Sierra Nevada and shaded by the magnificent roblar, the great oak forest. Barren land spots were uninhabited, for as yet the great valley was not overpopulated and seed and game were plentiful. No famine nor wars for food are reported by the natives.

133 It will be seen that the dwellers about the lake and its fringe of swamp or tular had
22 a very different environment from those of the tree filled foothills. Yet nowhere was the food quest a problem. Nothing could be more misleading than labeling the people of the San Joaquin Valley, whether the Yokuts lake tribes, the tribes of the foothills, or the Monachi of the mountains, "seed-gatherers" or "seed-eaters," as though their diet were preponderantly vegetarian.

133 Fish and water fowl abounded in the lake region, supplemented by ground squirrels,
136 rabbits, and antelope from the near-by plains. In the foothills and mountains rabbit, squirrel, quail, pigeon, dove, and deer were the commonest meats. Early travelers, Spanish and American, testify in open amazement to the plentiful supply of game constantly at hand.[22] Acorns
[262] and seeds are not to be discounted as less important than meat, but they were not more important in daily diet.

262 The tabu on meat or grease which was enjoined at all times of religious or spiritual stress was not thought of as a personal sacrificial abstention because of the preciousness of meat: rather, meat and grease were substantial nutritious foods, ever at hand, and were to be omitted like the solid seed foods in order to attain that peculiar exalted physical condition brought about by fast or by the mechanical emptying of the stomach with tobacco and lime. Lack of food, whether meat or vegetable, did not constitute one of the hardships of life for the Yokuts and Western Mono.

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[22] Example of abundance: in the vicinity of Yokahl Valley (Yokod-Wukshumni territory) four men shot 300 quail in two days. Visalia Record, vol. 3, Nov. 7, 1861.

Property

421 Although there were no defined tribal
423 boundaries, customary usage gave people the feeling of ownership of certain land. It was not the land but the produce and game available on it which was the matter for concern. In this way there was a sense of tribal property or "home land." As individuals, women rather than men felt ownership of those places where they and their mothers had gathered seeds. Families did not own land, nor did the captains. According to the Tachi informant (M.G.) a woman went to one place to gather seeds and her daughters went to the same place. Another woman would not come there without invitation, but went to her own patch. If she trespassed, a quarrel ensued. A stake (šo´nɛl) marked the end of a woman's claim; a series of these several feet apart might be set up to include an area about forty feet square. Such plots had no special name.[30] A woman had such a special place for each type of seed. Her daughters continued to use the plot after her death; a sister might claim it if there were no daughters. If there were no close female relatives, M.G. thought it would be used by some woman friend who belonged to the same moiety.

A young married woman returned to her mother's plot to gather seeds. If it was too far away, she remained at home to do the cooking instead of going with her mother-in-law. Her own mother would send or bring her foodstuffs from time to time, but the mother-in-law gave her nothing. The young woman cooked for the entire family while her sisters-in-law went
[591] with their mother to do the gathering. This, of course, was during patrilocal residence, which was the customary home of newlyweds in the lake area.

According to M.G., men did not own fishing or hunting places even in the above sense (but on this point a male informant's opinion is needed). They went anywhere within tribal
● [224] territory for game. Game was never sold, but was often given to friends. Men gathered tule roots more often than women, but whether the men, like the women, had individual claims on gathering places M.G. does not know.

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, UTENSILS, AND CRAFTS

Houses

342 No adequate description of houses was obtained for the lake region. Two types are well known, the long communal house and oval individual house; but the gabled house pictured by

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[30] The informant insisted that this property marking was a very old custom. The interpreter had never heard the word for the marking stake until the older women explained it to her, she claimed.

known. The clapper (tawa´tw·l) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu. [131]

Hunting.--F.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When F.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. F.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

Tobacco.--Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wos) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sop) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi'se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter F.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

Tinder.--Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called yo´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

Medicine.--Redwood sap (ṭa´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

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[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

166 and manzanita berries. The Wukchumni also went
222 to Woodlake and Dry Creek for fish and fresh-
423 water oysters. The Wukchumni felt they had a slight edge on the claims to Woodlake. Red (grass) salt was got at Mencken Flat. During these summer trips old people stayed behind with a supply of food, and relatives would return occasionally to see them. An aged person who was on the brink of death would not be left alone; a close relative (mother, sister, or daughter) would remain. When the people came back, they all built new storehouses for their supplies. M.L. said that while she and her
● [224] female relatives gathered seeds, her brother went out every day to kill squirrels and
[281] rabbits. These he skinned and dried to add to the winter food supply; the skins were cured and made into blankets.

Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Neighboring Sites

103 The following sites are shown on Local Map B (map 3); the information is from M.L., S.G., M.P., J.P., Tm.W., and S.O. Overlapping Wakzachi territory in the Lime Kiln Creek region is shown in another map in Part II.

1. ye''itaǫ: Gawia central village
2. sokoda'o: Gawia campsite
3. čed:pwi'ša: Redbank, so called because of its red earth; also called cida'pw:š
4. poanai'yu: Gawia campsite
5. had:ta'o: Gawia camped there in spring
6. pa''asi: Woodlake; the word for any lake or large pool; regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod
7. hai''yuhao
8. čaše'ša: rocky hill east of no. 7 (not positive)
9. waipau'ču
10. topo'ño: meaning "buckeye tree," a favorite Wukchumni campsite; present homesite of J.P.
11. sukai''yu: another campsite; present site of "Willow Gate" to J.P.'s place
12. dapa'o: meaning "cottonwood place"
13. wo'kano: Antelope Valley, little hamlet there
14. gutsču'm: Lime Kiln Creek
15. aiya'gu: a small sharp peak
16. opo'ñyu: Mencken Flat, a salt-gathering campsite
17. moi'yak: painted rock near no. 29
18. šono': a flat near the Kaweah River
19. gutsnu'mi: Terminus Beach; Wukchumni village site
20. toño'našu
21. čoiši'šyu: Bell Bluff; meaning "dog place," given also as čoi'šu; believed to be site of a shaman's cache, name refers to magic dog guardian
22. sanukwa'o: a Wukchumni hamlet
23. hotnu'nyu: a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

304 be the localization of, or point of permeation of, one's supernatural power. The Wukchumni, M.P., said her pattern represented dove's feet because she had Dove totem (fig. 9, d); the Telamni, T.W., said hers represented "a cross because I belong to the Catlick," a tactful evasion (fig. 9, e). M.L.'s forearm had bars on the upper side (fig. 9, c).

Face patterns are shown in figure 9, a, b. M.P. said favorite Wukchumni patterns were two stripes downward from each corner of the mouth or one horizontally from each corner of the nose. (No example of the latter was seen by the recorder.) Tattooing was sometimes done on the thighs, and M.P. once saw an old woman who had several stripes on her chin which continued onto her neck and thence into zigzag lines on her chest, breasts, and thorax. Men to the north (Hoshima) were known to use facial tattooing, but "none down this way." Kroeber shows several tattoo designs.[187]

The tattooing was usually done by some old woman. The pattern was marked on the person with the charred end of a fine-pointed stick. The lines were then abraded with a fine-pointed small arrowhead, and a paste of grease and charcoal was rubbed in lightly. There was no actual cutting, and no person seen with tattooing showed any welting or scarring as a result. The color was dark blue-grey.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting

224 [776] A Wukchumni, J.B., says that his Patwisha father-in-law, Ha ˆhaš, was a fine hunter. Deer was his dream helper. He always supplied deer meat for large gatherings and was paid for this service. He ate deer meat, but abstained from it for three days after killing a deer. When about to kill an animal he spoke to it: "I am going to kill you. These people are going to eat you. I kill you every year." When killing a bear he addressed it in the same way "so the [754] bear wouldn't hurt him." (J.B. claimed he had never heard of anyone transforming himself into a bear.)

Great respect was shown deer when they were killed, according to S.G. A hunter would tell the deer "that he wanted him to rise in three days." A plain man, without special dream aid, would just tell the deer he was sorry he had to kill him.

In the old days when a hunter killed a deer, he laid it on a pile of brush while he was skinning it. After it had been quartered and the viscera removed, the parts that remained, the ribs and the shoulder blades, were laid up in a tree. Dogs must never be allowed to touch deer meat or the carcass remnants.

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[187] Handbook, 520, 521, figs. 45, h-l, 46, m-o.

● 224 Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts.

There are reasons for this respect for deer.

224 539 773 In the first world Deer was a quiet man who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then when it was time for the change[168] Eagle said to him, "All your body will be worth something. It isn't everybody who will be able to kill you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer--he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer [mets hoi] lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" [treats it with respect] the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."[169] A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

224 Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

223 485 237 Great respect was shown eagles, in fact, only a chief could order one killed. He paid $3.00 to $5.00 for one. A man or woman would be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be paid for the task. The large feathers were plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about $2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as [534] needed. The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

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[168] Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

[171] [169] The Navajo, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Hill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 96).

223 The eagle's carcass was returned to the
237 hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

539 Eagle lived over the water before the
773 world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mɛtš ṭo ʻhːl) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (wɛtš), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wi ʻtːs), and grey eagle (ṭohːl), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 J.P. said that when a man went out to kill
[136] bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundi ʻta pŏ ʻdta ma ṭupːʻnita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭi ʻpːni. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was
[281] made of the entire skin and antlers. In skinning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] [171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

224 hind crotch to the chin. The skin was turned
281 inside out as it was worked off and the antlers removed with it. For the costume, the cut under the throat was sewed up and the head and neck stuffed with shredded tule; the head rested on the man's head, the skin hanging down his back, said S.G. J.B.'s assertion that the hunter looked out through the eye-holes, with the skin tied under his chin, does not sound practical. The bow and arrows were tied
[411] to the body with a belt, in such a way that the weapons pushed the skin up at the back making a more natural appearance. The hunter leaned
224 on two short sticks to assist the four-legged pose as he walked. These he cracked together to suggest fighting deer. With the disguise a man could approach within twenty feet of grazing animals. If one deer fell victim to the silent arrow shot, others ran up to investigate and were killed also.

Three men would engage in a deer drive, two to scare up the deer and one to kill by waiting in ambush on the deer trail.

S.G. has never heard of "charming"
[276] animals, or of smoking oneself and weapons. J.P. said hunters gathered to eat tobacco and lime and to vomit the night before hunting. They rose early, bathed, ate only acorn gruel, and departed in the morning. The only tabu was on saying where one was going, "if you told, you would never see any deer." Neither has he heard of any quarrels over hunting territory or claims on special places since game was so plentiful "nobody cared where anybody else went." Not every hunter was skillful enough to get deer, but a hunter would often take another man along to help him, and this man received
[262] some meat in return. S.G. believes that everybody ate deer meat, but some people do not like bear meat. J.B. said he did not eat cougar flesh although many people did.

136 J.P. said "there were five animals just
[262] like deer, everybody ate them" (i.e., they were not totemic). These were: ho'koi, elk, wandered east of the swamps in the valley; soi'yod, a goat with straight horns, belongs in the valley, seen near the foothills at Hadi'd:t; duwe's:p, mountain sheep, had curved horns and belonged in the mountains; wo'kno, antelope, in the foothill valleys, especially in Antelope Valley (Local Map B, no. 13); and hoi, deer.

224 Bear hunting.--Bears were not ordinarily shot at in the open, and were rarely sought as game. The meat was not eaten by many people, and the animal was held in considerable awe. When deliberately sought to be killed, the creature was roused during hibernation, forced to run out into the open, and shot from ambush. The skin, paws, or claws were redeemed by members of the Bear lineage, certain members of which would use these parts in the Bear Dance. As an illustration of the hunting method and its attendant dangers, J.P. told the following:

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[P. 72a]

224 539 773 Holo'anši, J.P.'s maternal grandfather [great uncle ?] was a very fine hunter and was frequently out with his weapons. One morning he saw a bear with two cubs; he went home and told his friends about it. The next morning twelve men, each with bow and arrows, started for the bear's cave.

"Who is going to run?" they said. Holo'anši offered to as he was a good runner, but another man wanted to, too: they argued a bit. Meanwhile the others arranged a semi-circle of stakes, driving them into the ground in front of the cave. They took up shooting positions behind these. Holo'anši went to the cave entrance to lure the bear, but the bear rushed at him before he could draw his bow. He was forced to run toward the circle of stakes with the bear clawing at his heels. The second runner jumped in to draw the bear's attention, and another man succeeded in shooting her in the shoulder. She continued to pursue the second runner. Holo'anši dashed in the cave to grab the cubs, but the mother saw him and went after him. Now, Lizard was the dream helper of Holo'anši and he came to his rescue. He gave that man power to climb right up the side of the cave and whisk up and out of the entrance just out of the bear's grasp. But outside Holo'anši was forced to run, and the bear still chased him. Holo'anši tried to climb a high rock pile but at that moment the bear caught him, clawing and biting him. The other men were all too frightened to do anything, save the second runner who came up and shot the bear three times as she turned toward her cave again.

The men carried Holo'anši back to camp. They put his eyes back and all his skin in place. They covered him entirely with eagle down and dosed him with jimsonweed. He began to get better at once, but some bad doctor saw that this was his chance to do away with Holo'anši. He shot "poison" at him, and the old man died the next day.

411 322 Weapons.---The plain bow (ta'dup) and sinew-backed bow (ṭap) were used by the Wukchumni. S.G. claimed that both were made of elderwood (wuse'ta). He said few men knew how to make a sinew-backed bow, but any man could and did make the plain kind -- as follows. When the length had been chosen and cut, and the bark peeled off, the stick was set with one end in a crotch and the other end pulled until it split down its entire length. If it split properly, two bows could be made from the two halves. Thereafter shaping was done with a large obsidian blade. No grip was cut on the plain bow. To aid flexibility occasional gashes were cut on the inside curve, which was the bark side of the wood, i.e., the core of the wood was on the outside. The bow was heated over glowing coals and pulled around the knee to form the center curve. The end re-curvature, which was slight in the plain bow, was made by fixing the end in a vicelike crotch and pulling it until the desired effect was obtained. The shaping progressed bit by bit and was not accomplished in less than three to six days.

411 237 The arrow, shikid, generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as t'uyosh, dilbaku, and wuk'ud. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow.... The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

Powers saw two types of arrows:[178]

411 [324] Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves of button-willow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter, [224] lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the probable length of shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should call the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak!

411 324 The arrow straightener used by all Yokuts has been described and illustrated by Kroeber:[179]

411 322 The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the Southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have used the plant, though not exclusively. The joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for [171] wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.[180]

Cane arrows were realigned before and after each usage. The cane shaft, with foreshaft removed, was grasped at each end and drawn across the hot groove with a rolling,

[178] p. 374.

[179] Handbook, 530, pl. 49, c.

[180] Latta (Uncle Jeff's Story, 20) recently reports that a perforated stone disc was so used by the Choinimni. A.H.G.

pushing motion. Willow arrows were straightened by the same method.

223 Bird hunting.---Kroeber attributes the
349 pigeon booth to the Yaudanchi and describes a similar method by which they captured eagles.[181]

The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait [237] and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

223 The Wukchumni went up the Kaweah River into Patwisha territory to get wild pigeons (šo´'owɨn). They had their own booths up [239] there. They took with them house mats for temporary shelter, and these they sold to the Patwisha when returning.

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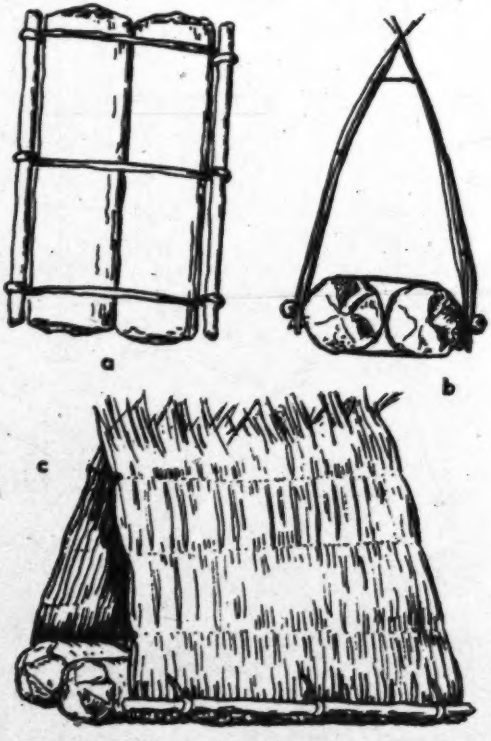

Fig. 11. Wukchumni hunting and fishing blind. a, log float. b, end view. c, sewn tule screens in place.

[181] Handbook, 529, 524, pl. 45.

223 349 A floating hunting blind, described by S.G., was used by Wukchumni and Gawia on quiet waters, particularly on Woodlake. Two logs about 6 feet long were tied together about a foot from each end with willow-root withes. Horizontally along each side, just at the center, was a long rod held in place by the same bindings. Into the long slot between the rod and the side of the log to which it was fastened, were inserted the butt ends of long round tules, about 4 to 6 feet tall, previously twined together at the butts. The tops of these were drawn together forming an apex over the narrow raft. If the shelter were well made, the tule tops would be sewed together with string (čit‹k) on a wooden needle, but if poorly made the tops were tied together in small bunches (see fig. 11). This [501] floating shelter was used chiefly for duck hunting with bow and arrows. It was poled about, usually by men who worked in pairs, one to pole, the other to shoot.

224 Small game.--S.G. described two traps for small animals. The first, intended for rodents, was merely one large flat rock propped above another by means of a small stick. The bottom of the stick rested on the bait -- usually a roasted acorn -- and gave way when the bait was nibbled. The second was a spring trap set up on the trails of quail, cottontail rabbits, ducks, or geese. A small supple limb was set in the earth if none grew naturally at the desired spot. To its tip was fastened a noose of string (čit‹k), the cord of which was tied to a horizontal bar pegged about six inches off the ground. Any creature caught in the noose struggled sufficiently to release the horizontal bar, and animal and bowed limb flew upward.

[136] Of small animals the following were trapped: ground squirrels (po ʻhot), tree squirrels (sa ʻnsañwide ʻʻ‹t), gophers (hu ʻnhed) and chipmunk (aho ʻʻŏt).

Smoking out, with aid of the feather fire fan, was the most common method of catching ground squirrels (see Michahai-Wakšachi, Pt. II).

A flexible stick with hooked end was used for pulling rodents from their burrows or hiding places. Ground squirrels were forced out or stupefied by smoking. Entries to their burrows were plugged with grass which was fired and kept burning by drafts from a feather fire fan. As the animals attempted to escape or get air at openings they were dragged out with the hook, seized, and their necks broken. A hooked stick of this type in the University of California collections (No. 1-4036) is 49 inches long, approximately 1/4 inch in diameter (fig. 10, a).

Fishing

226 227 The fishing harpoons were 7 to 12 feet long; different lengths were used for different

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 122 b] Wa Kchamwi

796 displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically.
756

Another display dance was mentioned by M.L. in which she danced with her shaman uncle Taisus. They sang song No. 5 (p.118), and then the shaman "made a mudhen come and fall in the fire."

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 From no informant was I able to obtain a
[825] description of the Rattlesnake Ritual which in any way approximates that given by Kroeber for the Yaudanchi.[272] It was one of the native rites most frowned upon by missionaries and white settlers and has not been performed, even aberrantly, for many years. The reader is referred to Kroeber for a full account. My own summary and, in a few instances, supplementary data are given below. The only major differences in these are the absence of any "shaman-killer" (given as kuyohoch, obviously confused with hi'auta), and the presence of the Coyote clown, not mentioned in this connection by Kroeber.

This ritual, called šo´no, was made in the spring of each year, about April, always just prior to the snakes' emergence from their winter hibernation.

● 224 One of the participants at Diapnuša was J.P.'s maternal uncle, so J.P. went with him when he got his snake; both had snake poša. They went up to a rocky ledge on Diapnuša hill; J.P. sat down and watched. The uncle had with
[534 him a flat tray (koiyoto), a bird-bone whistle
237] (wa´hid or šo´ho), hawk down, a small stick, a long pole, and a willow cage (čo´miš). The tray, its surface covered with hawk down, was laid on the ground in front of the snake den. A rattlesnake came out and circled once around the tray. Uncle did not like it and told it to go back. Another came out. This was repeated six times. Each snake had taken one little piece of down. When the sixth and satisfactory snake came, it would not take a feather. Then Uncle told it to take one and it did. Then he circled his little stick over the snake's head. When it coiled, the tray was inverted over it, covering it with down. Uncle then picked up the snake in his hand, putting it in the wicker cage. He talked to it continually, telling it where it was going, that it was to participate in the Snake Ritual, and that it must not bite anyone. The cage was put on the end of the pole, and J.P. was allowed to carry it home. There it was hung in a tree until wanted.

796 The ritual was held in the afternoon in the village dance space. A vertical-sided pit

[272] Ibid., 304-306.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 123b] Wukchumni

796 825 Then people began shouting for the "biting" display. "They would put up $50 to $60 for this." The doctor who was daring enough threw his snake to the ground to anger it. It would turn toward him and bite him. The arm was extended, so that the snake struck high in a spectacular manner; the reptile was displayed dangling by its fangs from the doctor's arm.[273] Then the other doctors sucked the wound and spat on a tray, and the victim recovered at once. This ended the ritual, usually about 5 p.m.

The feast provided by the doctors was then eaten. They, of course, received the payment in the pit. The next morning they returned the rattlesnakes to their respective dens.

J.P. said "the worst he ever saw" was a doctor whose snake struck him three times. He was given the sucking treatment and lived, but he remained unconscious until the following morning.

J.P. said the "sun snake" was more dangerous than the rattler. If a doctor wanted a sun snake, he "held his tray up to the sun to get power" (this at the time he was seeking the reptiles for the ritual).[274]

● 224 The informant Tm.W. had seen Pušl:l:n get snakes for a dance at Maštːnao (a Chukaimina village). He went out with a bone whistle. When the snakes heard it they "rose right up in the rocks and were told to 'Come on!'" As a snake turned away, the doctor grabbed at the back of its neck. He put it in a willow cage called čo´mːs. Tm.W. had also seen Solopono do the Rattlesnake Ritual at Porterville, but this informant was not equal to describing it. A rattlesnake was called pu čuš tu'ud (little rattlesnake) or mːts tu'ud (big rattlesnake).

796 The Rattlesnake Ritual was held by the Yaudanchi at Moko early each spring. Several doctors participated. Those M.S. recalls were her stepfather Kipat (Patwisha), Čokonːk (Choinimni), Umičana (Wukchumni), Čiwːn (Wukchumni), and Šuːt (Gawia). Each man had a snake which he had obtained at its den. This informant's description of the rite differed from others in the following respects.

During the dance the coiled snake was held out on the palm of the hand, or was wound around the neck "like a muffler." There was no "biting" display. Each doctor had a hole for his own snake; the people who filed by paid each snake by dropping in a bit of money, stamped at the side of the hole, and passed on.

[285] While in captivity, the snakes were kept in bottlenecked baskets (osa) instead of cages. A pole (wi čːt, any stick or pole) was set up beside the dance space and gifts of baskets for the doctors were hung upon it. The doctors

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[273] I do not know whether this "dangling" is physiologically possible for the rattlesnake, but Kroeber reports the same action (ibid., 505).

[274] M.A., the Paleuyumi, said her father "made snakes come down from the sun."

When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of actual money, it was equated in commodities. Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka´suwaš.

Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

This whole method of money exchange was not necessarily carried out between tribes, but might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Reciprocity

The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe in the entire function.

The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi families who stood in this reciprocal relation were named by J.B., and corroboration of some of

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u'na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).---This was the usual
515 two-post structure described for the Central Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we [533 know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often
524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.---Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was [263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

In discussing the preparation of acorns,
252 Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or colland-
262 er, made of fine willow shoots," was used to separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported gener- [412] ally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their
● 224 burrows, but the fan used was a basket or piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather
184 fire fan.

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[7] Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

264 Meals were irregular, save for a late afternoon supper just before sundown. Snacks were taken by workers as they came home from tasks away from the village. Mayfield claimed all persons ate from a central basket by dipping in three fingers, but used small baskets for drinking.

227 Traps and weapons.--The fish trap was a cone-shaped net of milkweed fibre. Its round mouth gaped in a weir facing upstream; the fish were driven downstream into it. In shallow pools fish were caught by wading in and pouncing an open-bottomed basket over them; they were then extracted by putting a hand through the opening.

A double-pointed harpoon, one tip of which was detachable, is described by Mayfield; the pole handles were often 20 feet long. A scaffolding was constructed to spear the fish from: two poles, crossed like shears, were set butt down in deep water 10 to 15 feet from the bank, the crotch about level with the land. In this crotch were lashed the tips of two long poles whose ends rested on the bank and were some 10 feet apart. Across this frame were laid poles and leafy branches, amongst which the fisherman lay face down. As he could see fish in the shady water below, he speared them through an opening between the poles.

411 Mayfield, when a lad, was given a fine sinew-backed bow. This was about 3-1/2 feet long, wide, flat, with handgrip in center and recurved ends, and was "painted in pretty [283] colors." The string was of sinew, tied at one end and looped at the nocked end, which was unfastened when not in use. These bows were all [439] bought from the Monachi by the Choinimni and [463] taken back to them for repairs, in fact, to a certain skilled individual north of Sycamore Creek.

The Choinimnis' own simple bows were without recurved ends.

411 Excellent details of hunting, of the making of weapons, etc., are given by Mayfield ● 224 in a passage too long to reproduce here. The essential points are: arrow release with two fingers, three fingers for heavy bow; arrows with obsidian-tipped foreshaft for warfare and heavy game, hardwood foreshaft for light game; simple arrow for practice; bird-arrow tipped with four cross-pieces; foxskin quiver; the pigeon booth (see Michahai below); and the deer disguise. Deer and elk were snared, but the method is not described.

291 Clothing.--The man's breechclout was ten inches wide, cut from a full length of deerhide, held in place by a buckskin thong over which the clout was doubled at the back and over which the two front ends hung in a flap. Women wore a "rabbit skirt woven together like the blankets." This consisted of two knee-length aprons, the larger one in front. Cougar skins were worn about the shoulders in cold weather. Mayfield claims footgear was unknown.

DSD

796 535 424 anyone, "it was his own know" (i.e., learned through dream power). It had no reference to acorn eating.

796 535 Kowo wore the usual doctor's dance regalia -- feather skirt, feather bunch (ču') skewered to a headnet, and feather crown (sema). Singers with cocoon rattles accompanied him; he danced "half the night."

P.D.W. said he had never seen any Aiticha or Wechihit make this dance.

796 Rattlesnake ritual.---This rite (le'a'la) was held at Kulušao in the old days. Sometimes a doctor who had Rattlesnake as a helper would dream; the snake would tell him to hold the rite, and he would do this immediately.

A Choinimni, Pušl:'l:n, was a Rattlesnake shaman. He would tell the chief that they should have the dance in six days. Then he would get some other snake "doctors." In three [224] days they went after their rattlesnakes. They brought them home in cagelike baskets which they hung from a tree branch.

The ritual lasted three days. On the first two days the men danced with the snakes on their shoulders, displaying their imperviousness to snake bites. On the third day, the reptiles were put in a hollow in the ground, where they were symbolically "stepped on" and given "payment" in beads and eagle down. When the rite was over, the men returned the snakes to their dens.

P.D.W. said that Keya, the Wukchumni, J.P.'s grandfather, was the "best snake handler ever known" (see Wukchumni account, Pt. I). He and Pušl:l:n most frequently gave this ceremony; Pušl:l:n was known and witnessed as far south as Tule River. The powerful shaman Kapl:l:n did not participate, "it was not his know." The Wechihit did not have a snake handler among them.

Deer Dance.---No dance representing or referring to deer was known to P.D.W.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

668 177 796 A man (not identified) went over to the "Paiute" to visit; there he learned two songs. Then he went up to Table Mountain and to "a big rancheria behind Pine Ridge [both places in Posgisa, Western Mono, territory. There, presumably, they were talking of or already holding Ghost Dances.] Then a man came down here [to Kulušao] and told them about it; he went on and got the Toihicha, Wechihit, and Tachi. A lot of Choinimni went to Uplinao, a Wobonuch village, to attend their first Ghost Dance. [302] The people put black and white paint on their faces."[26] The true purpose of the dance P.D.W. apparently did not care to reveal; he insisted "they made that dance just for fun."

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[26] Shown in Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, fig. 2, c.

252 of water. Then hot cooking stones were put in this acorn gruel to cook it; they were stirred constantly to prevent burning the bottom of the basket. This process was continued for two to three minutes. Each time a cooking stone was lifted out the mush was scraped from it to prevent waste. The gruel became thicker in cooking. When done, it was poured into three mush baskets and taken up to the house where the men of the family were waiting for it. "Men don't come around while acorn is being cooked." [Never, or only when this first of the season was being cooked? -- A.H.G.] They [264] ate it while it was hot. The whole hand within about one inch of the wrist was dipped in. It did not burn: "it was just hot enough not to burn."

Then the women cooked the second layer of meal the same way. The gruel produced was a bit thicker than the first. This mush was poured into baskets to cool and kept for eating during the next few days. When cooled it was quite stiff like cold cornmeal mush.

The third, bottom or "dirty," layer of meal was then treated. It was thrown in a basket of water; the meal floated, whereas the sand it unavoidably contained sank to the bottom. The floating meal was poured off, but even when so cleansed the third grade of meal was darker than the others. The mush produced was cooked like the rest but was even thicker and when cool was quite hard, making a sort of tough dark bread. Sometimes this thick mush was made into individual loaves by placing little mounds of it in a cold spring of water. There might be ten to twelve such mounds which, when congealed, were taken home and put away.

262 This work took all day. Meanwhile some of
512 the men had been hunting and had brought home
● 224 some game. "It is pretty near sundown now.
[252] Perhaps some fellow got a squirrel maybe a rabbit, a bird, or something. Whatever the meat, the men would cook it.[87] The women bring up the cooled acorn mush. Now it is supper time. They all eat together inside the little house."

25 When acorns were plentiful a family could
[227] get ten to twenty sacks in two or three days, said N.W. The entire family participated. White oak acorns were difficult to keep so were shelled immediately and soon used. When shelled, they were spread on flat rocks to dry, then stored in sacks which were placed on a layer of grass in the outer edge of the house. They must be kept dry. Black oak acorns were stored in their shells in granaries, but they too must remain dry.

252 Cakes of acorn meal dough were sometimes made before cooking of the whole batch was started. These were shaped in the hand and baked on hot stones. Such a stone (seen by Thrall) was about 5-1/2 inches in diameter and

[87] Men usually cooked meat, unless they were too busy; then the women did it.

278 824 757 area was covered with dry wormweed which was then fired. Mike Wyatt once had rheumatism in his shoulder. His relatives made a bowl of this medicine, applied it to his shoulder, and lighted it. They did this several times, whenever the pain came; then it was cured.[96]

Hunting

224 Mice were trapped between flat stones by propping the upper stone on an upright stick resting on an acorn. Inferentially, these traps were set out at night. In the morning the owner went out, collected his quarry, then threw them on the coals to cook just as they were. A little mouse made just two mouthfuls, said J.R. Only mice were caught this way.

Tree squirrels were shot with arrows or captured by trained dogs.

Ground squirrels were drowned out of their holes in wintertime by digging drains to run water into their runways. When an animal emerged, it was struck on the head. J.R. many times helped his father at this, which was a common resort in winter when food was scarce.

To obtain deer, drives were organized by several men in a community. At a deer drive each man knew his position and the territory he had to cover. The usual method was to drive "around a mountain" [probably a large hill] in circular formation. As the men were closing in they shot any deer that came within range. Of those encircled, they killed all they could, although some invariably escaped. "What they shoot, never gets away. They die pretty quick. I have seen them shoot with the bow and arrow, you know. They die quicker than with the bullet. When they shoot the deer, you know, he gets sick and dies, just a little way off." So said J.R.

Up at Wowo·na (Miwok territory) the deer-drivers deployed around a mountain which had a flat rock on top and one precipitous side. They pressed the deer up the mountain until they were forced to huddle or jump off. Those that did not destroy themselves by leaping were shot.

In the evening as much of the game as possible was packed home. Often this method netted more meat than could conveniently be carried. Hence some carcasses were left overnight, hung head down by the hind legs, in trees. In the morning the hunters would return to skin them.

224 482 A man could carry one deer by means of a tumpline. The animal was skinned, all save the legs from foot to knee [and the entrails removed?]. The legs were tied together and the carcass packed on the back. The blood was

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[96] An elderly white man told me of his own experience. He propped his rheumatic leg near a hot stove; he fell asleep and woke to find his leg painfully burned and blistered. However, the rheumatism was not felt thereafter.--A.H.G.

224 saved, being carried in the stomach and the stomach carried in the skin [by the same man?]. 482 At home the deer was hung up, perhaps for one night, the next day [it is butchered?] it is cooked in the ashes. A single deer would be consumed in two days by the average family. Everyone helped skin the animals, and everyone in camp [every household?] was given a piece of meat about "as big as your hand and wrist."

224 Men hunted all the year round; even in winter they would go out all day with their dogs.

231 A few Indians had dogs trained to hunt 224 foxes. These followed the fox whenever they smelled one, and treed it. The master followed with his bow and arrow and shot the beast as it watched the dogs below. The dogs jumped the fox the instant it fell but were immediately beaten off, otherwise the skin would have been torn and the meat bruised. Wildcats were got by the same method. For fox and wildcat but one or two dogs were used at a time.

A small breed of dog, about twelve inches high, was used for hunting rabbits. They were trained to track rabbits to burrows or rock shelters. The owner had a slender stick, three or four feet long, which he ran into the hole until he felt the hiding animal. Then he poked and twisted the stick in its fur, pulling it out. It was killed with a blow on the head. "A man would be gone all day hunting like that," said J.R.

Gray squirrels were abundant. The dogs would pursue these, perhaps catch them, before they got up a tree. The owner was immediately behind to secure the quarry for himself.

These hunting dogs somewhat resembled coyotes: they had long tails, some had long, slightly woolly fur, "coyote color, pretty near yellow." There were also black, white, and spotted dogs. Some had short fur. Some were as high as a man's knee: the rabbit dog was smaller than a fox dog. A hunter would possess both kinds. These pets were fed acorn soup, bones, feet of squirrels, rabbits, and the like, also entrails. They also were permitted to hunt for themselves and ate whatever they caught.

"When a man takes his dog out, the dog knows what he is going to do. He hunts. He watches the animal, but he would hunt whatever he saw first. He would jump anything. The dog knows what he is hunting. They run after anything, these dogs, after they learn what to do, you know. But they can't catch the coyote. They get away every time. Nobody ever ate them." (This, and all hunting information is from J.R.)

Horse Stealing

579 A man named xo'šin (M.N.'s father-in-law, 674 said the narrator, M.W.) was the ringleader of

579 674 horse, got on it, drove a bunch of horses this way, back across the water at the same ford, and so on across the valley and back up here. Maybe at Picayune they would kill two horses for the Indians there. Brought the rest up [492] here. Maybe some people wanted a horse, so they didn't kill that one, but kept it to ride. When those horses were all eaten up, some time, they would go down again.

224 492 When they had horses here, they would go down below Raymond to the valley for elk. There they would separate into two parties and go around in a circle. Maybe they would see the elk going ahead of them. The elk would go faster than the horses. So they didn't run after the elk, but went sideways to head them off; drove them, thus, in the direction they wanted. They could see a long way, for this was on the plain. They never chased the elk directly, but at an angle; made them go in the direction they wanted. Then they closed in on them. The riders had no saddles, only a little rope (a ja quima, presumably). But they had guns. When they had caught up with the elk, they couldn't get away. When one tried to break through, a man would shoot it through the heart. Then they let it go. They would find it later. They had to attend to the others that weren't yet shot. Later, when all had been caught or had got away, they went back to find those that had been shot and left to fall. They left none of that meat there; it was all brought up here.

579 674 Such raids were made occasionally in the summer, possibly in the spring, but J.R. thinks only in the summer season.

Fishing

226 227 Chukchansi people used to go down to Gashowu and Kechayi territory (near Friant) to spear salmon on the San Joaquin River. They had their own fish camp, as had other tribes, right at the river. Salmon were always speared [177] with a harpoon. J.R. did not know what was used for a point before nails were introduced; sharply filed nails are now used. In the harpoon, the point is loose in the shaft head but fastened to the pole with a string five or six feet long. When a fish is speared the point comes off the shaft head and the pole, remains in the fisher's hand. The pole (spear shaft or handle) was about six feet long. When the fish was pulled in, it was knocked on the head with a stone; then the forefinger was inserted in the wound and the toggle-point extricated.

226 When several men fished together they divided their catch at the riverbank; there might be about two fish to a man. The fish [482] were run through the gills by a withe, which was then twisted onto itself and slung over the shoulder. At the camp a good coal fire was [252] ready, and one salmon would be slit open and roasted for immediate eating: this would serve four or five men.

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[P. 187 9] Chuckchansi

361 these were built with the doors facing each other.

342 The whole family was concerned with construction of a new house. The men secured the poles, dug the holes for them with digging [462] sticks and set them up, while the women got the tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the thatching.

343 The ramada or shade as an adjunct to individual village houses was not described by any informants, though it was mentioned in passing. Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts tribes.

344 On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938) home there was at one time a large communal shade of the type constructed to enclose a dance space and shelter the audience. This J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof. One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place. People played games there, made cider, and cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so many people were assembled and eating, "the women would be doing something, preparing food all the time."[102]

343 Storehouses and granaries.--A special storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house, 251 was built near the family home. One such storehouse might serve two or three adjacent houses occupied by related families. These storehouses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the peak. [The walls were not described, but presumably they were of a thatch with bark overlaid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and rain out, so things will keep dry all winter." The floor was covered with a thick layer of dessicated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The heavy sacks were laid down, and the light things hung up." Salmon was hung on crosspoles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin] sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

251 It was not considered good practice to pile up too much stored food as it was awkward to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough food for one meal was removed at a time from the storehouse.

The supply of food in such a storehouse was expected to serve at least one family throughout the winter. A large family with 251 many children would be tided over lean periods 222 by their neighbors, should their food become 224 exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt every day, and women found late seeds, or some

[102] Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Estudillo, 74); Powers (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
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251 222 224 which had been overlooked, to add to the stored supply.

Some years the seed and berry crop was 261 731 scarce. Under famine conditions, when food was actually all gone, people warmed water and drank it. [J.R. did not state when or how often famines occurred; presumably very seldom. -- A.H.G.]

343 Each family had an acorn granary. These were constructed by sinking four posts about 2 feet into the earth, allowing them to extend 8 to 10 feet above. On the ground, and up to about 2 feet, was piled and packed brush or grass to form a nestlike base for the acorns. The walls were of "worm wood" (mesini) stalks of finger thickness. The butts of the stalks were embedded in the fibrous base mass and then twined with cord (s'atip) in paired horizontal bands with space between, thus forming a circular wall. As the granary was built, it was filled. This stretched the walls, which were 3 to 4 feet in diameter. Since the wall stalks were not as long as the frame posts, upper sections of the twined wall were added as needed. When the granary was full, pine [or cedar?] bark was laid on top and weighted down with a couple of heavy stones. To protect the sides from rain, strips of old bark were tied around it. Normally a granary was built in a sunny dry place, as near the owner's house as possible, as the one thing feared for acorns [789] was dampness. To prevent moulding, three buckeye balls were always laid in with the acorns. It was said by the informant N.W. that squirrels, rats, and other rodents never entered.

251 343 The average granary held ten to twenty sacks [native or modern?] of acorns; N.W. had one once which held twenty sacks. To reach the acorns at first, three people were needed: one who climbed on top, one clinging to the sides, and one on the ground. No ladder was used; the [417] woman owner climbed up the sides by means of the woven walls. As the supply diminished, the upper wall sections were removed. The contents of such a granary might last two years.

Each family had its own granary, which was used and repaired indefinitely. If it got wet within during the winter, a new one was built, the acorns dried and restored. The damp granary would be repaired or not, after summer drying, just as the owner might wish. [N.W. did [462] *not state whether* men or women built granaries; perhaps men sank the frame posts, women did the twined side wall. Once built, it is evident that it was a woman's responsibility, if not personal possession. -- A.H.G.] 251 Acorns of black oak were stored without shelling, and dried in the open airy granary before bark was tied round it. White oak acorns were shelled, dried, and put away in sacks in the dwelling or storehouse to protect them from moisture. N.W. still gathers acorns (1938), and has about six sacks in her attic which she had kept three years.

756 787 people heard him sing, everybody would know he was a doctor.

The shaman's debut was described by J.R. When a man was ready to announce his profession, he would sing his song at a public gathering. (Not a special gathering, apparently, but at any meeting when the chief would ask him.) After it was public knowledge that a certain man had acquired curing power, everything was made easy for his first case. Eventually someone got sick and decided to try him; they would send for him. He would go and cure the man. When he had once made a cure, then everyone knew he was a competent doctor and other people asked for his services. Perhaps he would be called down to Picayune or, if someone was sick over at Northfork, people would come down from there to get him.

787 224 825 A man became a fine deer hunter by dreaming of Deer, said J.R. If the deer wanted a certain man to be a good deer hunter, they would go to him repeatedly in dreams. The wild deer told him where he might see the sacred flints. These are seven flints about five inches long; they belong to the deer; they lie under some bushes in Miwok territory close to Ahwahnee. They are not to be touched, but looked at from a distance of five or six feet. J.R. himself has seen them.

After several dreams of the deer, in which they talked to their protégé, the man knew where to find the flints. Then he went. He went gently, gently, watching, watching. The flints make a metallic sound, like metal dropping on a rock. The man would hear them: he could hear sounds no other person could detect, some good, some bad. [What was said or done on viewing the flints was not told; perhaps nothing ?] After such an experience a man became a professional deer hunter; he was called upon to provide meat for celebrations, large assemblies, etc., like the big mourning celebration. He never ate deer meat, but ate any other kind which he killed.

787 825 M.W. said he had an aunt who received power from Deer. Once when she was a young girl, she was sitting out some place when a deer came up to her. Deer talked to her, saying he wanted to be her master [supernatural helper]. The girl agreed, but she did not receive a song from Deer. She always said Deer was good, not a malicious tutelary. She used her power only to cure herself when she was ill, not for others. She lived to extreme old age, "over a hundred," and, although blind in her last years, was never ill. She married a white man, but had no children: "She was nice, everybody liked her."

M.W. had heard of an old man who also had Deer as a supernatural helper. Whenever others went out to hunt deer, this man "would step on something and then nobody could get deer." The informant did not know whether this man was long-lived, too.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 219 b] WORTH MOND NS25

W Y 411

The butt end, already nocked, was now feathered. About 1-1/2 inches from the end the butt was wrapped with three turns of sinew cord, then on each of three ensuing turns the end of a feather was inserted. A final turn was taken around all three feathers and the end fastened by slipping it back under the last turn and pulling it up tight. The forward ends of the feathers were tied down in the same manner. The feathers were not spiraled but had an almost imperceptible turn; nor were they permitted to bow up from the shaft.

The war arrows were made in the same manner but were shorter and were tipped with a small obsidian blade. This was nearly flat in cross section and had a flanged butt. The tip of the shaft was treated as described above, but two splits were made into which the flanged butt was inserted. This was lashed in place with fine sinew and smeared with glue.

A composite arrow which was in popular use for small game was made by combining a cane shaft like that of the deer arrow with a wooden foreshaft of white oak shoots (pu·´jab[1]), the very hardest straight wood, according to B.O. He said spicewood (?)[157] was the alternative if oak was unobtainable. Sometimes foreshafts were tipped with an obsidian point, but more often not. The foreshaft remained in the wound, while the main shaft fell off.

W Y 413

Arrow straightener.--The Waksachi form of arrow straightener (te´para·no, Waksachi; tu´padan, Michahai) was usually round or oval and had but one groove, according to B.O. His own was of that type. He had never seen one made; "they were just handed down." While B.O.'s generalization on shape may have been influenced by the aspect of his own, two "Mono" arrow straighteners pictured by Kroeber[158] are ovoid as opposed to the rather squared-off Yokuts type. (See also pl. 1, Pt. I, lower right foreground, and pl. 2, d herein.)

W Y 224

Traps.---A spring trap baited with acorn, which B.O. did not describe lucidly, was used for rabbits, jays, and squirrels. Quail were shot, not trapped. Ducks and geese were seldom seen in this mountain region.

Deer hunting.--Two methods were in use, that of a single hunter wearing the deer disguise, and that of several participants engaging in a communal drive. The former method was like that of the Yokuts. The second was so arranged that one or two accurate shooters hid themselves on known deer trails down which the animals were quietly driven by the other members of the party. Anyone who wished might join such a hunt, and all who did so were entitled to part of the spoils. B.O. said that in dividing the animals the shooters each received antlers, skin, and a rump, the choice

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[157] California Laurel?

[158] Handbook, pl. 49, a, b, c.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
1. [P. 220 q] Western Mono NS25

W Y 224 [381]

portion; otherwise all parts were regarded as equivalent in quality.

Fall was the favorite time for hunting deer although no seasonal restrictions were observed. In the spring, bucks with soft horns would be killed in order to secure the horns for glue.

Bear hunting.--B.O.'s father's brother, Wanuk, was a fine hunter; he used the following method, as did some other intrepid hunters. A feeding ground of a bear was selected, and during the animal's absence the hunter arranged a crude scaffold of logs in an oak tree above the feeding place.[159] Before sundown the man took up his position on the scaffold where he must remain all night. During the night, usually just before dawn, the bear came, and the hunter, to encourage him, dropped down acorns from above. As the bear fed and eventually turned in a vulnerable position, the hunter shot. Should the bear discover the man above and not be fatally wounded, he might climb the tree in a rage. As the bear died or staggered to a safe distance, the man descended and went home to get help in taking the carcass to the village. The meat was divided among his family, friends, and helpers; naturally no one with a Bear totem was involved in the killing or eating. The hide and claws were "sold to a person with Bear ibuk." The hunter did not indulge in any formulaic address or ritual before or after killing a bear.

W Y [825]

W Y

Both B.O. and S.O. said it was not essential to have a dream helper to be a skillful hunter. One might get supernatural aid for this from Cougar (B.O.'s dream helper), but normally "if a man was a good hunter, his son would be too." A special term, ha'haš (Michahai), was applied to a hunter "who was so good he could kill anything."

224 776

W Y 224

Squirrel smoking.--Ground squirrels (šiti'la, Waksachi) were plentiful in the foothills. Usually one man, seldom more than two, would hunt them by smoking them out of their holes. Boys often helped. This method was called ili'ni mak šiti'la (fanning we squirrels). All vegetation was carefully removed from around entrances to runways. Then dried grass or weeds "of any kind" were stuffed into the holes, packed in as tight as possible. An area about fifty feet square would be so treated, with about six holes in the center left open. Then the grass was ignited and the men or boys went from hole to hole, fanning into them with feather fire fans. Smoke would ooze out of the open holes and soon squirrels would stagger forth. The hunters grabbed them and wrung their necks. The animals could be heard underground running and squeaking, and when all was silent the holes were dug open to secure those which had suffocated.

Cottontails were sometimes smoked out of their burrows in the same manner.

[159] Mentioned by Kroeber as a Yokuts method (ibid., 529).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948.NS29 Yokuts NS29
 Western Mono NS25

W Y 224 372 [237]

The fire fan (ile´ṭ:l, Michahai; tu'ohi´dano, Waksachi) was made of hawk or buzzard tail feathers. One made by S.O. appears in plate 2, e herein. The handle was about twelve inches long. They were made only by men. They were used primarily for hunting and for fanning coals under cooking or roasting materials (e.g., fish, burning lime), never as personal accessories for fanning the face or body. They are not to be confused with the feather bunches used in doctoring.

W Y 223 343

Pigeon snaring.--Pigeons (šo´ni, Michahai) flew south in the late fall (about November) and were caught in large numbers by means of a hand noose operated from a blind. Two sorts of shelter for the hunter were used, one a booth on the ground (ṭi´ toho´noi šoni, house to-catch pigeon) and a brush concealment in a tree (ṭi´pɨn ma ṭe'e´ niši´, up you house build). The booth was usually placed near water where the birds gathered at sunrise.

The booth was about 8 feet long, 4 feet wide, and had its floor excavated about 1 foot all over. Long poles of dogwood were set butt down along each side, bent and tied together overhead to form a series of arcs just high enough to clear a man's head when kneeling. The arcs near the front were lower than those farther back in order to make the front opening as discreet as possible. Horizontal withes were tied along the arcs to keep them erect, and over all were tied bunches of brush which, in turn, had more brush and green boughs fastened or thrown on. A grass called paša´ was laid all around the booth on the ground. The arched front was partially covered with long twigs set upright in the ground and fastened at their tips to the arc frame. One opening, or more often two, about twelve inches wide was left in this frontal screen.

Directly in front of the booth was a raised circular platform some 4 feet in diameter and 18 inches high built up of stones, earth, and a final layer of smooth sand. Manzanita brush was laid all around the edge of this to form a low "natural" barricade. On the smoothed sand cracked acorns were scattered. This platform was called pa´nɨs a´tmɨn šoni (place down-their pigeon).[160]

W Y 223 231

The hunter, concealed in the booth, had with him about six live pigeons which, with strings to their legs, were let out through each of the openings. "Four on each side was best," said S.O., "but three on each side was usual and sufficient." Acting as decoys these birds, which had been kept hungry for the purpose, ate of the acorn meal and lured the wild birds, which came readily. The tame pigeons were jerked or poked occasionally to make them flutter and attract attention. The noose for snaring the newcomers was of ho'o, about 4

W Y 223

[160] S.O. said, "You just said 'pa´namɨn' for short, just like slang."

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

any gap of distinctive process from that of obtaining grasshoppers, caterpillars, maggots, snails, mollusks, crawfish, or turtles, which can be got in masses or are practically immobile: a woman's digging stick will procure worms as readily as bulbs. Again, it is only a step to the taking of minnows in brooks, of gophers, or lizards, or small birds: the simplest of snares, a long stick, a thrown stone even, suffice with patience, and a boy can help out his grandmother. The fish pot is not very different from the acorn receptacle, and weirs, traps, stiff nets, and other devices for capturing fish are made in the same technique of basketry as the beaters, carriers, and winnowers for seeds. Even hunting was but occasionally the open, outright affair we are likely to think. Ducks were snared and netted, rabbits driven into nets, even deer caught in nooses and with similar devices. There is nothing in all this like the difference between riding down buffalo and gathering wild rice, like the break from whale hunting to berry picking, from farming to stalking deer.

The California Indian, then, secured his variety of foods by techniques that were closely interrelated, or, where diverse, connected by innumerable transitions. Few of the processes involved high skill or long experience for their successful application; none entailed serious danger, material exposure, or even strenuous effort. A little modification, and each process was capable of successful employment on some other class of food objects. Thus the activities called upon were distinguished by patience, simplicity, and crude adaptability rather than by intense endeavor and accurate specialization; and their outcome tended to manifold distribution and approximate balance in place of high yields or concentration along particular but detached lines.

The human food production of aboriginal California will accordingly not be well understood until a really thorough study has been made of all the activities of this kind among at least one people. The substances and the means are both so numerous that a recapitulation of such data as are available is always only a random, scattering selection.

Observers have mentioned what appealed to their sense of novelty or ingenuity, what they happened to see at a given moment, or what their native informants were interested in. But we rarely know whether such and such a device is peculiar to a locality or widespread, and if the former, why; whether it was a sporadic means or one that was seriously depended on; and what analogous ones it replaced. Statements that this tribe used a salmon harpoon, another a scoop net, a third a seine, a fourth poison, and that another

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

114 226 built weirs, give us in their totality some approximation to a picture of the set of activities that underlie fishing in California as a whole: but for each individual group the statement is of little significance, for it is likely that those who used the nets used the spear and poison also, but under distinctive conditions; and when they did not, the question is whether the lack of one device is due to a more productive specialization of another, or to natural circumstances which made the employment of this or that method from the common stock of knowledge impracticable for certain localities.

262 171 There is, however, one point where neither experience nor environment is a factor, and in which pure custom reigns supreme: the animals chosen for the list of those not eaten. Myth, magic, totemism, or other beliefs may be at the bottom; but every tribe has such an index, which is totally unconnected with its abilities, cultural or physical, to take food.

[171] Among the Yokuts, one animal stands out as edible that everywhere in northern California is absolute taboo and deadly poison: the dog. The Yurok give as their formal reason for not drinking river water that a large stream might contain human foetuses or a dead dog. The Yokuts did not shrink from eating dogs.

Coyote flesh was generally avoided, whether from religious reverence or magical fear is not clear. Grizzly bear meat was also viewed askance. The bear might have devoured human flesh, which would be near to making its eater a cannibal. Besides, in all probability, there was a lurking suspicion that a grizzly might not be a real one, but a transformed bear doctor. The disposition of the animal showed itself in the muscular fibers bristling erect when the flesh was cut, the Yokuts say. Brown bears had fewer plays of the imagination directed upon them, but even their meat was sometimes avoided. Birds of prey and carrion from the eagle down to the crow were not eaten. Their flesh, of course, is far from palatable; but it is these very birds that are central in Yokuts totemism, and the rigid abstinence may have this religious motivation. All reptiles were unclean to the southern Yokuts, as to the Tübatulabal; but the northern tribes exercised a peculiar discrimination. The gopher snake, water snakes, and frogs were rejected, but lizards, turtles, and, what is strangest of all, the rattlesnake, were fit food to the Chukchansi. There is a likely alien influence in this, for the neighboring Miwok probably, and the Salinans to the west certainly, ate snakes, lizards, and even frogs. On the other hand, the southern [224] Yokuts relished the skunk, which when smoked to death in its hole was without offensive odor; while to the Miwok and Salinans it was abomination.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

412 as much again in diameter. Except for a narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called *kowish;* and the Choinimni used it. It is a type that has rarely been observed north [171] of Tehachapi outside the San Joaquin Valley: there are attributions to the Konomihu and the Patwin. (Pl. 45.)

Loose mortars of stone were found and used on occasion by all the tribes, but the universal testimony is that they were not made. In fact, the Chukchansi declare their inability to do so, and attribute [773] all stone mortar holes, in situ as well as portable, to the coyote, who employed an agency of manufacture that decency debars from mention.

It is reported that the Yokuts sometimes fastened a hopper of basketry to the edge of a stone mortar; but this practice is established only for the southern California tribes, and needs confirmation. There is no Yokuts mortar basket, and the few available specimens of the combination suggest that an American may have cut the bottom out of a cooking basket and asphalted it to the stone.

Small stone mortars were probably used for special purposes quite different from those usually assumed. A toothless woman, for instance, was likely to keep such a one for pounding up the whole gophers or ground squirrels that younger relatives might from time to time toss her. Others may have been used for tobacco or medicines.

THE TAKING OF GAME AND FISH.

●224 One hears less of deer snaring among the Yokuts than in the north; but they knew the device. Only, instead of setting the loop in a runway so as to encircle the neck, they laid it in a small concealed pit and fastened the end to a log.

Deer stalking with a deer's head as a decoy was shared with all the tribes of the north and central parts of the State. The Yokuts [302] add that they painted their arms and breasts white like a deer's underside, and aided their traveling on all fours by holding a stick in each hand. When an animal was approached from the leeward, these sticks were rubbed together to produce the sound of a buck scraping his antlers.

Elk were too large to be snared, and in the open plains impossible to approach within bow range. They were chiefly secured in long-distance surrounds and drives called *tadiwush.*

Antelope were similarly hunted, the valley groups uniting for intertribal drives, in circles that must often have been many miles in diameter at the start. When the ring had narrowed down so

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

that a shout could be heard across it, two warriors famous for dodging stepped forward from each tribe, and each shot one flint-tipped deer arrow from fully bent bow at his companion. Then these men, and they only, shot the crazed antelopes as they circled about within the human inclosure, or sometimes ran until they dropped from fear and exhaustion. Certain of the antelopes with peculiar horns were believed to sing as they ran, with ground owls sitting on their heads. These individuals were spared. The mimic warfare no doubt had magic intent; but the delegation of the shooting to select men served to keep the circle intact, which would certainly have broken under the excitement of every man aiming his arrow at his own quarry.

A safe though far from certain way of hunting bears was to shoot them on moonlight nights from a sort of nest constructed in a tree in their acorn feeding grounds.

When the geese traveled, inflammable brush was piled up, and when the birds were heard approaching on dark, still nights these were suddenly lit. The birds swooped down to the flare, and in their bewilderment were easily killed.

Pigeons were snared in the earliest morning from a comfortable brush booth with a grass window looking out on a leveled platform on which a live decoy was staked and bait scattered. The running noose was on a stick that was slowly shoved through the curtain until a bird stepped within. The victim was smothered with the knee, and the flock soon returned to feed. (Pl. 46.) The decoy was carried in a spindle-shaped cage.

The Yaudanchi capture of eagles was modeled on the principle of their pigeon taking. The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

Of the many ways of capturing fish, a few more unusual ways may be mentioned. Completely darkened booths were built, in which a man lay to spear the fish passing beneath. This device suggests the pigeon snaring and eagle taking arbor. Small fish could sometimes be taken with the scoop-shaped openwork baskets of the women. Poisons were two: ground buckeye nuts with earth stamped into them and crushed *nademe* leaves. Soon after these preparations were thrown into a small stream the fish began to float on the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

During the time when salmon were running they undoubtedly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beautiful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

[P. 44 not Processed]

CHAPTER II

THE YOWLUMNE

YOWLUMNE GEOGRAPHY

101 131 One of the most interesting of all tribes of Yokuts Indians was the *Yowlumne* (Yowl-um'-ne). Their range was in every direction from their central village, *Woilu*, located about where now stands the Santa Fe passenger station in Bakersfield. Along Kern River their upstream limits were about where the second electrical power house is located in Kern Canyon. Their [224] downstream limits were on the plains at about the Pioneer Wier and Pioneer Bridge on Kern River. The Yowlumne hunted antelope, rabbits and squirrels on the hills as far north as Poso Creek. To the south they ranged to the shore of Kern Lake south of present Greenfield. To the southeast they ranged to within a few miles of the present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

[133] The most noted Yowlumne landmark was at the mouth of Kern Canyon, where the waters of Kern River make a slight [103] fall. This place was known as *Kaw'-naw Ill'-kin*, or Place Where the Water Falls. It was a noted fishing place.

361 103 There was a Yowlumne village, *Wawcoye* (Waw-coy'-e), on the south bank of Kern River just below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. This is still a beautiful site, well shaded by [415] sycamores. It can be recognized by the many mortars, cut into the granite boulders. These mortars are scattered from the bridge at the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now often called the Olcese Ranch, almost to the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

Tesinliu was a Yowlumne village located on the north bank of Kern River northeast of the foot of China Grade. *Shoko* was the most easterly Yowlumne village. It was in Kern Canyon. The name means Windy Place. The Yowlumne village at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, most southerly of their settlements, was named *Tinliu*, meaning Hole. *Pohalin Tinliu*, Squirrel Hole Place, was a Yowlumne village on the southeast shore of now extinct Kern Lake.

On the north side of Kern River, and beginning just below the bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho, another Yowlumne Indian village straggled downstream for about a mile. It was named *Hawau*.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

The great variety of San Joaquin Valley game also made useful the two-piece arrow. With only a few good arrow shafts, a Yokuts could quickly attach a point to shoot squirrels, birds, ducks or any kind of game he saw. There was another very important reason for using the two-piece arrow, especially in hunting large game, such as antelope, deer, elk, raccoon, wild cat, fox, and mountain lion. Raccoon, wild cat and mountain lion would fight the arrow with their paws. They would break the arrow off, generally inside their bodies. Antelope, elk and deer would do the same by rubbing against brush, trees, rocks, or tules. Then the wound closed and much of the bleeding stopped.

It was not often possible for a Yokuts hunter to kill large game outright with a bow and arrow. The Yowlumne found it necessary to follow antelope and deer for several hours, and sometimes days, before they became helpless from bleeding. So it was important to continue the initial bleeding as long as possible. When a wild cat or lion clawed at a foreshafted arrow the long mainshaft immediately fell free, leaving the foreshaft projecting from the wound. The Indian picked up the dislodged mainshaft, replaced the point, and followed the wounded animal.

The foreshaft was made of the toughest wood the Indians could secure, generally live oak, chamise, or wild lilac (ceanothus). It could not be broken easily and the barbs of the arrow prevented its being removed by clawing, or by being rubbed against brush, trees, rocks or tules. But the constant effort to remove it by these means stimulated the flow of blood and hastened the collapse of the injured animal.

The sinews attaching points to game foreshafts were water-proofed by a coating of asphaltum. Otherwise the blood would soon soften the sinews, allowing the point to become detached and the foreshaft to be drawn from the wound.

The sinews attaching points to war arrows were not waterproofed. An Indian was more intelligent than the wounded animal. He could twist the foreshaft about and remove it, together with the stone point. For this reason the stone points on war foreshafts were attached as loosely as possible and the sinews were not waterproofed. As soon as they were wet with blood the sinews loosened and allowed the point to remain in the wound when the foreshaft was removed.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

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ARROWS AND TOOLS

Top shows a fore-shafted javelin. Second from top is a one-piece arrow. Third, fifth and seventh from top shop the use of red-tailed hawk feathers. Fourth from the top shows a wooden foreshaft. Sixth from the top shows the skip-bomb arrow. Eighth from the top shows, left to right, foreshafts used for squirrels, war and birds.

Bottom, left and right, shows chipped stone knives set in wooden handles by means of asphaltum. Center is a skip-bomb roll of tule for use on the javelin shown at the top.

All of the above were made by **Wahumchah**, last surviving man from the **Yowlumne** tribe.

411 223 Bird fore-shafts had a sharp wooden point with two crossed pairs of small sticks attached to it by sinews about an inch and a half from the point. Yokuts claim that this point would not glance off the feathers of the bird, but would pull many of them out, tearing the skin, and badly bruising the body. This point also often broke the wing of a bird when an ordinary arrow would not.

411 224 Squirrels were shot with a wooden pointed foreshaft having a barb attached to it about two inches from the point. The projecting foreshaft prevented the squirrel from crawling

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

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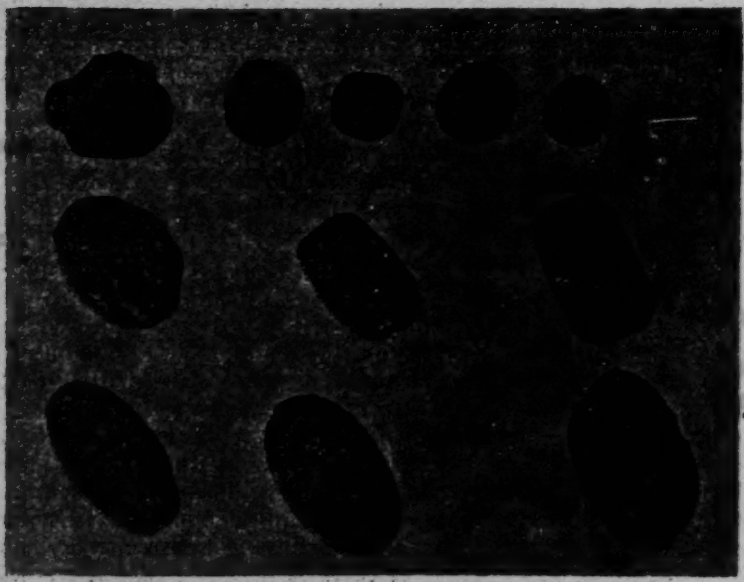
[412]



Yokuts arrow straighteners and the tools with which they were made. These were all unearthed for the author by Ichow, an aged Wukchumne. He had seen his grandfather bury them about 1865, "During the white man's big war," said Ichow.
At the top left is a sharp fragment of hard blue stone used to peck the articles to shape and to the right are four more which through use have been reduced to hammer stones. At the left, center row, is a stone which shows hammer-stone marks and which was discarded because it contained a flaw. To the right is another which broke while being made. The other four show varieties of construction. The completed arrow straightener was heated in the fire and used to harden and straighten the cane arrow shafts. Buttonwillow and gooseberry shafts were most often dried and hardened over an open fire.

down a hole and the barb prevented the foreshaft from slipping from the wound.

A most ingenious device was used on ordinary waterproofed stone-pointed foreshafts for shooting ducks when they were resting on water. An ordinary arrow dives or is stopped almost as soon as it touches the water. To prevent this the Yokuts slipped a small roll of tules on the foreshaft. This lodged against the ferrule on the end of the main shaft. When the arrow struck the water the roll of tules prevented its diving and allowed it to skip forward on top of the water. It was the original skip-bomb weapon.

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Yowlumne

411 Arrows were commonly fletched with feathers from the tail of the red-tailed hawk. Feathers from the wings of this 237 hawk were also used. When red-tailed hawk feathers could not be secured, tail and wing feathers were used from the other native hawks, and sometimes from the great horned owl. Feathers were fastened to the mainshaft by means of sinews [823] which were commonly waterproofed with asphaltum. Feathers were trimmed to shape with the glowing edge of a fired piece of sycamore bark.

411 Yowlumne Indians state that the best arrow shafts were made from long, straight shoots of spiny gooseberry. These 824 were very strong and, when once straightened, remained straight. But most arrow shafts were made of the heartwood of buttonwillow, which was also very strong. After it had been straightened and hardened by being seasoned over a fire, or on a heated soapstone arrow straightener, it also retained its shape very well. The native cane or bamboo was also used for making arrow shafts. These were straightened on the heated [258] soapstone arrow straightner. The Yowlumne also harvested a crude sugar from the leaves of this same cane in much the same way that salt was harvested from the leaves of salt grass.

411 Spears were also commonly used by the Yokuts. For some kinds of hunting they were used almost entirely. Raccoons and [224] bears were most often killed with spears. There were two kinds of spears. One, to be held in the hands and used for repeated thrusts, was short and heavy and was made of one piece of elderwood.

[824] A second type of spear was actually a primitive javelin. The shaft was also made of elderwood, was tapered smaller toward the rear, and was from five to six feet long. Javelins were foreshafted like the two-piece arrows, but used a much larger stone point, some as long as four inches. As all spears [823] might be used in the water (but never to spear fish) all sinews were waterproofed with asphaltum.

A roll of tules was also fitted to the foreshaft of the javelin when it was thrown at raccoon, beaver, or otter in the water. This converted it into a skip-bomb weapon.

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lower, or down stream limits of the village. It is explained that this was done in order that the bathing would not disturb the water of the stream which was used by the inhabitants of the village.

In many instances the *Winatun*, or messenger for the Headman, or Chief, lived near the sweat house. It was his business to meet strangers, or visitors, and escort them to the chief. A second Winatun lived on the main trail at the up-stream limits of the village. It is probable that the lower Winatun occupied the sweat house when he happened to be a man without a family. Women never entered the Yokuts sweat house.

It was due to the practice of sweating that measles and smallpox, as well as other fevers, took such heavy toll of the Indians not only in the San Joaquin Valley, but throughout the western United States. Fevers were apparently unknown to them. Their ordinary ailments were principally rheumatism and other infirmities due to cold and exposure. Pioneer settlers of the San Joaquin Valley have repeatedly described the death within a few weeks of almost entire tribes of Indians due to measles, or smallpox, when treated in the sweat house.

The sweat house was held in high esteem by all Indians. Why this should be the case has aroused the curiosity of many persons. When one considers the most important use to which it was put, this attitude on the part of the Indians is not strange. Most Indian hunting was done by stalking. Deer and other animals were killed with bow and arrow, often at a distance of less than forty feet. White deer hunters will appreciate the difficulty of approaching this close to a deer, even should the hunter be disguised by a deer head and horns and covered with a deer skin. It is readily appreciated that often at the distance of several hundred yards the deer will scent a hunter and take flight. The Indian also knew this. For this reason he was very careful about two or three things. His hunting equipment was always hung up where it would not be touched except when he was hunting. In this way it carried no scent.

Before going hunting the Indian entered the sweat house and bathed in the river. Taking his weapons, he proceeded to the game country with the knowledge that, for at least five or six hours, deer and other game would not be able to distinguish his scent. As this gave the sweat house a very practical and vital use, it is not strange that the Indians almost universally came to regard it as sacred.

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The writer has seen arrow and spear points made in this manner. In less than four minutes of measured time a flake was removed from a large piece of obsidian and reduced to a finely worked point. During this time complete explanation was made of the entire process.

I know that this method will be questioned by many laymen, but not by persons who have investigated these methods of manufacture. A popular bit of misinformation will always survive. I have a very distinct recollection of searching through a vineyard for arrow points and Indians beads and of collecting a mixed handful of them only to be told by one of the natives (white) that they were not beads or arrow points, but were pumped from the irrigation well and that they could be found in all parts of the field.

THE ANTELOPE SURROUND

One of the most interesting methods of taking game, common to the Yokuts Indians, is that of the "surround" or "drive". In some cases, as in taking jack rabbits, a net and Indian fence were used.

Probably the largest game taken by driving was antelope. Before the coming of the Americans the San Joaquin Valley was covered with vast herds of these animals. If the descriptions of early travelers and settlers are to be credited, there were probably hundreds of thousands of these animals within a distance of twenty or thirty miles. They ran in herds and covered the surrounding country like a moving tan blanket.

The pronghorned antelope of the San Joaquin Valley is undoubtedly extinct. In the northern portion of California there is a wild game preserve upon which have been placed what are said to be some Great Plains antelope. They are also said to be the same as were those of the San Joaquin Valley.

The horns of the antelope were not shed like the antlers of the deer. Both male and female carried horns. These horns were about ten to twelve inches in height and stood almost erect. The tops curved sharply together in the shape of large question marks. Near the base of each horn was a small webbed point, or eye guard. The base of the horn was rough, but the tip was smooth, like the horn of a cow.

Antelope were probably possessed of more curiosity than any animal with which we are familiar, unless it is the more or less domesticated mule. It was this curiosity which made the

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antelope easy prey for the Indians and which was responsible for the system of hunting known as the Antelope Surround. Undoubtedly this system was used by many Yokuts subtribes. However, our most detailed account of this is reported from the *Koyeti*.

The Koyeti subtribe of Yokuts, of which there are now no full-bloods living, occupied the territory adjacent to lower Tule River from a point above Porterville, known as Chico Flats, down to a point probably two or three miles west of the present Southern Pacific Railroad north of Tipton. This tract of land was called by them *Kia-wit'-nau*. Their principal village was near Porterville and was known as *Cho-ko-wish'-o*. From individual Koyeti and from some accounts given by aged members of neighboring tribes, the details of the Antelope Surround are known.

The *Wukchumne* say that once or twice a year they used to join with other surrounding tribes in aiding the Koyeti with the drive, providing probably a thousand drivers. One or two Indians secreted themselves in the tall grass near a point where antelope were in the habit of watering. Drivers from the several tribes secreted themselves at a distance around this point.

When the antelope began to come to the water hole the two decoy Indians lay on their backs and raised their feet into the air above the grass. In some instances strips of skin, or woven grass, were tied to their feet, which were kicked backward and forward in a way to wave the attached materials before the antelope. It seems no antelope ever lived that was able to resist the temptation of approaching as closely as possible to such a performance. They were as fascinated as is a speeding automobile driver with an approaching passenger train. They would crowd together and circle about the Indians, first at a distance of several hundred yards and then gradually nearer, until, forgetful of everything else, many hundreds of them stood within a few yards of the decoys. Many times this system was used for the purpose of decoying and killing one or two antelope, but upon the occasion of the "surround" the game was not disturbed until the hundreds of scattered Indians had drawn inward and formed a complete circle, or Indian fence, around the huddled band of animals.

When the word was given, the decoys arose and fired into the band, probably killing two or three. As the band attempted

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to scatter, they were turned by the Indian fence and forced into a frightened, milling mass. 224

One Indian from each tribe or, if only one tribe was present, one Indian from each family, was allowed to enter the circle for the purpose of killing antelope. It is explained that if too many persons were allowed to begin shooting, the line would soon be broken and practically all of the antelope escape. The meat was carried home. Some of it was cooked at once and eaten fresh. The remainder of it was dried for future use. [261]

There is one interesting detail in connection with the surround. It concerns the superstition of the huntsmen regarding the killing of antelope in this way. Sometimes, as the running antelope passed one of the Indians who was doing the shooting, a sharp whistling sound was heard. 224 825

Whether this whistle was caused by the passage of the running animal through the air, or by his breathing, is unknown, but the Indians regarded this noise as of great significance. They would not shoot an antelope from which this sound seemed to come. They said it was made by the ghost of *Peek'-ook*, the little Ground Owl, which after death selected some particular antelope to guard. This attitude on the part of the hunters can be better understood when it is known that the Ground Owl was the represenatitve of the *Ahanich*, or professional singers, who performed at the *Lonewis*, or annual ceremony for the dead. [776] [533 769]

SNARING AND STALKING

Snaring was one of the most interesting and clever Yokuts methods of taking game. We are assured by Indians and pioneer white settlers that almost all kinds of game were taken in this way, ranging in size from the ground squirrel to the elk. 224

The method of snaring was practically the same for all animals. A twig or limb was bent downward and fastened in place by a trigger. Attached to the trigger was a loop made of waxed string, or heavy cord. The loop was placed over a trail, or run-way, or in the mouth of a burrow in such a way that the game would pass part way through it and become entangled in it. As the animal struggled to free itself, the trigger was released and the branch sprang up-right, lifting the game partly or entirely from the ground, where it soon strangled.

In snaring small game a wythe was generally used. The larger end of it was thrust into the ground and the tip bent

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224 over to the trigger. Rabbits were snared in run-ways, or by rocks where their trails were constricted and where they could not escape the noose. Larger game, such as foxes, coyotes, and raccoons were snared in much the same way, but by means of much larger and stronger equipment. The Indians blocked with brush all trails except the one on which the snare was set. A limb of a tree or a bush was then bent downward and fastened by a trigger.

Elk were snared where they were in the habit of approaching water among the tules and where it was easy to confine them to a narrow path. A large willow or oak was selected and one of the upper branches bent downward and fastened to a lower branch by means of the same kind of trigger used in snaring smaller game.

The noose was suspended from the end of the upper branch and was fastened so as to become entangled in the horns of the animal. When the trigger was released the upper branch sprang upward and held the elk until the Indians arrived and dispatched it with arrows.

223 The most interesting system of snaring known by Yokuts Indians was that used in taking wild pigeons. It was done from a blind by means of a long stick which had attached to it a small loop of stiff milkweed string. The pigeons were generally baited in front of the blind for several days before the snaring was begun. The Indian entered the blind early in the morning and attracted the pigeons by means of a decoy pigeon.

The decoy was sometimes a stuffed pigeon skin, but it was more often a live bird, blindfolded and perched on a stick similar to that used in making the snare. One leg was attached to the stick by a short string. The Indian held the stick a short distance from the ground and moved it about, causing the blindfolded pigeon to flap its wings in order to keep from falling. The flapping wings attracted other pigeons.

The snare was allowed to lie on the ground with the loop over the bait. When a pigeon was standing over the loop the stick was given a slight twist. This caused the loop to rise around the feet or neck of the wild bird. The stick was then quickly jerked into the blind, bringing the pigeon with it. The Indian broke the neck of the pigeon between his fingers and held it between his knees while he removed the snare and placed the pigeon in a sack to keep it from further disturbing the other wild birds by struggling.

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Pidgeon blind built by **Chamsuh**, a **Koyeti**, on Tule River about 1920. The hunter lay under the brush blind and peeked out through the grass curtain. The pidgeon snare was rested across the stick in front of the curtain. Bait was placed on the level platform in the foreground.

The snare was quickly replaced and the decoy maneuvered above it.. The wild birds would almost imediately return. Then the process was repeated. We are told by old Indians that in this way several dozen pigeons were often taken in less than an hour.

Stalking of most game was comparatively simple. It consisted of working from the leeward, using the various cover which presented itself, and approaching within shooting range of the game. Some game was not easy to take in this way. Elk are said to have been quite wary and it was necessary to keep them from water for sometime before it was possible to approach very close to them. It was not necessary to stalk antelope, as they were more easily taken by the surround described previously.

The most interesting system of stalking was that used in taking deer, the most wary of all such wild game. The most de-

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224
[223
285]

At the left is a Keyeti, and right a Wukchumne decoy pidgeon cage. At the left center is a Chukchansi pidgeon snare, having a spur to prevent the ring from sliding down the pole and closing the loop. At the right center is a Yowlumne pidgeon snare. These snares are about six feet long.

tailed and interesting description of this practice was that furnished by T. J. Mayfield, who was raised by the *Choinimne* Yokuts on upper Kings River and who left a more or less detailed account of his experiences. The Mayfield story follows:

"When I was quite young the Indians used to kill many deer by stalking and shooting them with the bow and arrow. For this sort of hunting they prepared the horns and hide of the deer and placed it over themselves.

"The head of the deer was hollowed out and fitted over the head of the hunter. The skin covered the back of the hunter.

"A short stick was carried in the right hand, and was used, when the hunter bent forward, to imitate the forelegs of a deer. The bow and arrows were carried in the left hand.

"They would imitate a deer feeding and rubbing the horns on the brush and many other actions of the deer until they approached quite close to the game.

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"Sometimes the hunter would work an hour to get just ten feet closer to the deer.

[177]

"After men began to hunt with guns and could kill a deer at long range, stalking had to be discontinued, as several Indians were mistaken for deer and were shot. Such hunting was always dangerous, even when there were no guns in the country.

"An old Monache Indian once told me of an experience he had had, which I think is interesting. He had stalked a deer for several hours and had finally approached close enough so that he was preparing to shoot.

"Just as he was about to draw the bow he saw something move. He glanced to his right and there on a big rock, as he said, 'There's one mountain lion, he's going to jump right on me. Fool 'em deer too good—fool 'em mountain lion.

" 'Deer go one way, horns go one way, bow and arrows go one way, Injun go one way. Injun no more fool 'em deer!' "

TULE FISHING RAFTS

501

Pioneers who were on Tulare Lake in the early days say that loose tules used to float on the surface of the water and were drifted by the wind along the lee shore of the lake into thick, floating mats. These mats were sometimes three feet or more in thickness, thirty to fifty feet across, and from fifty to more than one hundred yards in length.

When hogs were placed upon the lake shores to fatten, the tule mats caused a great deal of trouble. They were buoyant enough to support several hogs. Sows with young pigs liked to nest on these mats. During the night it was not unusual for the wind to change direction and drift the mats some distance from shore. Then it was necessary to wade, or row a boat into the lake and take the sow and pigs from the mat.

After the mats had accumulated windblown dust and sand and trash they became known as floating islands. At time of low water they would rest upon the ground, but at time of high water they would separate from the bottom of the lake and float away. It is believed that it was from these floating tule mats and tule islands that the Indians first learned to make fishing rafts, and also the rafts which were used on the rivers. The fishing raft varied in length from ten feet to probably twenty, and in width from six feet to eight feet. They were probably from two to three feet, or more, in thickness and were lashed

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501 together with twisted hemp or tule rope, or with willow withes. They were pointed at the ends, which were higher than the middle.

In the center of the raft was left a fish spearing hole about [354] a foot in diameter. In front of this hole was placed a thick layer of mud and upon it was kindled a fire. Here game and fish were cooked as needed.

We are told that from two to four Indians would board one of these rafts and go onto the lakes hunting and fishing, to be away from shore for as much as a week or two. During this time they slept upon the raft, or upon the tule islands in the lakes, and fished and hunted and cooked the meat and fish at the fire place on the raft.

501 The Indians learned to make their tule rafts a very ef-
● 224 fective aid to their hunting and fishing. They threw loose tules over the raft and themselves as a blind, and poled the raft about the lake, thrusting the pole through the hole in the middle. [223] In this way they were enabled to approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and other water fowl. At places where antelope and elk watered at the lake, or in the streams where they entered the lake, the Indians were also able to approach those animals quite closely and to shoot them with bow and arrow.

501 It is probable that the hole in the middle of the raft was
226 first made for use in spearing fish. We are told that fish used to collect in great numbers under the natural tule mats. The mats were drifted by the wind and the Indians used to walk about over them and spear fish through holes which they cut in the mats. Under the mat there was no reflection from the sun and it was easy to see the fish as they passed underneath. It was also impossible for the fish to see the fishermen.

226 The lake trout, which were greatly prized as food by the
136 Indians, attained a great size. Mr. Fred Wells of Tulare, now past 96 years of age, who fished for the market on the shores of Tulare Lake, tells us that as late as 1880 he caught lake trout weighing more than twenty pounds and more than three feet in length.

Pioneers who came in the early '50's, when the stock of fish had not been depleted, tell us that the fish at that time traveled in great schools which in places almost entirely displaced the water. White fishermen of the 1870's and '80's caught in one haul of a horse-drawn seine as many as eight tons of fish. One of the fishermen who engaged in this work was

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three or four days they didn't catch any fish. Then they come back to camp and get that Indian Doctor. They take him along. He got nice, long, *kots* [obsidian] points like you got here. Sometimes, too, he got good rock like your white boy's spin-top [plummet, or plumb-bob shaped stones].

"That Indian Doctor, he make fire of some good kind of weeds. He talk, and talk, and say his good prayers over that fire. All the time he hold his good kots point like big spear point over that fire. Pretty soon that Indian Doctor begin singin'.

"He get up and dance little bit on that tule boat. He hold that kots point in one hand. When he finish dancin' and singin' all his good songs, then that kots point is *tripne* (trip'-ne) [has supernatural power]. Then that Indian Doctor throw that tripne kots point in the lake. Then them Indians catch lots of fish. But they got to pay that Indian Doctor lots of good Indian money, maybe beads. They got three-four kinds beads they use like money."

And that, in my opinion, is the entire secret of the thousands of fine, large spear points found on the dry bed of the old valley lakes.

THE RABBIT DRIVE

San Joaquin Valley pioneers who attended the rabbit drives held by white people during the early eighties will perhaps be surprised to learn that this method of taking rabbits was practiced by the Indians on the same grounds many generations before the white man came.

The number of jack rabbits which a barren, desert country will support is unbelievable to the person who has not seen them. During the Fall of 1929, within ten miles of the city of Tulare, in the area of less than ten acres, the writer saw a swarm of rabbits which undoubtedly numbered not less than 1500. These rabbits had taken refuge in a field which was covered with tumble weeds. As the car passed along two sides of the field the rabbits swarmed across the road in bands of fifty and one hundred. In places they were almost as thick as driven sheep. This is largely the condition in many portions of the San Joaquin when it was occupied by Indians. In those areas the rabbits were commonly taken by driving.

The elaborate preparation made by the white people was of course unknown to the Yokuts, although we are assured that

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it was an occasion of great enjoyment and feasting, and in that way closely resembled the rabbit drive of the eighties, with its large cans of hot coffee, wagon loads of bread, and barbecued beeves.

Instead of the fence built by the white people, which was often two miles in length and made of wire netting or lath fencing, the Indians themselves formed the line. Instead of the pen into which the rabbits were driven by white people the Indians used a net made of milkweed string against which the rabbits ran, and where they were killed.

A detailed account of the rabbit drive as practiced by San Joaquin Valley Yokuts was furnished by T. J. Mayfield, who has been so freely quoted in these sketches and who was raised by the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts Indians. The Mayfield account follows:

"One of the great sports at the lake was the jack rabbit drive. The flat sage brush plains around the lake were fairly alive with jack rabbits, and the Indians used to plan a drive much like the drives later made by the white people, except that they used no pen or corral.

"A milkweed string net was made. This was about thirty feet long and four feet high. It was tied like an ordinary fish seine, but I never saw the Indians seine fish.

"The net was used for catching rabbits. The net was erected between two large sage bushes. Then a long line of Indians marched out at an angle from each end of it.

"The most of these Indians carried a stick about two feet long. When the two lines of Indians had formed wings several yards long the outer ends closed in and then they drove the enclosed rabbits toward the net.

"When an Indian came close enough to a rabbit he would throw his stick at it and would generally break its legs. But the most of the rabbits were killed at the net.

"As the rabbits ran along between the two lines of Indians they saw what they thought was an opening in the line at the net. They attempted to run through this opening, but hit the net and bounced back. Then they were promptly clubbed by one or two or three Indians who were hiding there for that purpose.

"It surely was exciting when the drivers had closed in. There would be hundreds of rabbits, and almost as many sticks flying in the air. Many of the rabbits would break through the

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line of Indians and escape, but a great many, probably two hundred, would be killed in a forenoon drive.

"The rabbit skins were made into fine blankets. These were used as a covering for sleeping much as is an ordinary blanket. They were the warmest and most comfortable bed covering I have ever used.

"The skins were taken from the rabbits without being split and, while green, were cut into a long strip about three-quarters of an inch wide.

"As this strip dried it naturally curled up with the flesh side inside and the fur on the outside. This made a sort of fur boa about an inch and a half in diameter.

"In making the blanket, two of the strings were twisted together for a distance of about six feet. Then the ends were doubled back and looped through the twists of the first portion.

"Working back and forth across the blanket in this way it was woven into a square about six feet on each side.

"Smaller blankets were used as a sort of cape, or shawl, in extremely cold weather, or to wrap the babies in before they were strapped on the cradle. The mokes also made their skirts in this way."

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Western Mound NS25

Y 551 775

many years ago. It developed that only one person knew his Indian name. This person was *Wahnomkot,* an aged Wukchumne. But she could not tell me the name, or tell it to anyone for me. Her half-brother had been given the same name. He had recently died and she could not speak the name until a decent period of time had passed. So, in this volume, Doctor Bob's Indian name cannot be used.

W 551

Among the Indian names of the Sierra an interesting example was that of the *Halawanshe* (Hah-lah-wahn'-she) family. They belonged to the *Pahdwishi* tribe and lived on the Kaweah River in the vicinity of Hospital Rock. With the passing of Grandmother Halawanshe several years ago that family passed out of existence, the younger generation having taken a name from the white men.

Y 551 [221]

In the days of the primitive red man, before the coming of the Spanish, the tribes migrated, as the season of the year brought game or fish to the various rancheria sites in their territory. In accordance with this custom the Indians moved every fall from the rancheria at Hospital Rock.

Y 224 551

Upon one occasion, when returning to Hospital Rock, an old bear and two very young cubs were found occupying the cavern under that great boulder. The Indians tried for some time to dislodge mother bruin, but she had apparently decided to locate there permanently, and refused to move. After some discussion it was decided to imitate their brother of the fields, the coyote. Many American settlers have seen coyotes stealing pigs and know the system they used.

In stealing the cubs, what was called an "Indian fence" was built. The Indians formed a wide semicircle in front of the shelter and each held a long pole in front of him with the butt resting on the ground.

Other Indians stood behind the fence with their spears and bows and arrows ready, while two Indians approached the mother bear from different directions. As she gave chase to one of the Indians he retreated and was allowed to slip through the fence. Then the Indians behind the fence shot arrows at the bear and jabbed her with spears, while those in front raised their poles and threw her backward into the circle.

Upon the occasion of the removal of the mother bear and cubs from beneath Hospital Rock, two brothers, whose names were *Tripne,* (supernatural) entered the circle from opposite directions. The first Indian retreated and was closely

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followed to the fence by the mother bear. He made his escape with difficulty.

The second Tripne brother handed one of the cubs through the fence. Then he made a mistake. He should have waited until his teammate repeated his part of decoying Mrs. Bruin from the rock. But he thought there was enough time to return for the second cub, and, contrary to the coaching of the Indians forming the fence, rushed back to the cavern.

Mrs. Bear turned and saw Tripne starting toward the cave. Mustering all of the amazing speed with which a great, heavy bear can move, she charged him. The Indians were all speechless and helpless to interfere. It seemed impossible that Tripne could escape with his life.

Just as Tripne came opposite the opening of the cave, unaware of the charging bear, out of the hush of expectation which had fallen over the group, someone yelled at the top of his voice, "Ha-la-wan'-she!" (get out quick).

Tripne hesitated the fraction of a second in front of the cave. Without looking, he decided not to go in, and quickly leaped forward through the fence. Mother Bruin was within three feet of him and clawed his head as he passed through the pole fence, almost entirely removing his scalp. He later died from the effects of the wounds received.

With the relaxation which occurred immediately after the escape, all of the Indians fell to laughing and ever after called the two Indian families Halawanshe.

WUKCHUMNE PLACE AND ANIMAL NAMES

Those who have studied the Yokuts never cease to marvel at the extent of their vocabulary. They had a name for every object about them. In abstract matters they were able to express themselves almost as fully as can people with a written language. Although Yokuts grammar was less complicated than that of English, the vocabulary of an intelligent Yokuts contains several thousand words. In this sketch are presented the names of the common animals of the valley, as well as various landmarks and other items of interest. The names were obtained from the *Wukchumne* tribe of Yokuts.

The Wukchumne dialect was almost identical with the *Kaweah, Yokodo, Wa-chik'-it,* and *Yaud-dahn'-che.* As explained in the foregoing account, these dialects almost never involved the sound of "l". So, for the surrounding dialects,

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CHAPTER XIII

INDIAN STATEMENTS

PAHMIT'S STORY

Almost all of the material in the preceding sketches concerning San Joaquin Valley Indians has been taken from statements made by aged Yokuts Indians, or by aged white pioneers who settled among the Yokuts before they were disturbed by white people. To present an intimate picture of the Yokuts it is best to include a few stories just as they were related to me by aged Indians.

The following self-explanatory statement was taken from Pahmit in 1928:

I born *Kuyu* (Koo'-you) *Illik*, long time 'go. Kuyu Illik [Sulphur Water] Indian village bank river white man call San Joaquin. Village at place white man call Fort Miller where soldiers march.

My people belong *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) tribe Indian. I don't know how much old me. White man say I more than hundred. I know when soldiers, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik make Indian sign paper, [1851], I young man 'bout twenty-one, twenty-two years old.

My people live happy 'till soldiers come. We have plenty eat. We have nice dry houses live in. We don't fight. Lots our people live along river above Kuyu Illik. Lots antelope, lots elk, lots wild horses come river, drink below Kuyu Illik where Friant now.

My grandpa, *Tom'-kit*, chief all Indian tribe 'round Kuyu Illik. We want meat; he send two, three Indian; good shot with bow, arrow, get it. They hide in rocks by river, wait antelope, elk. Antelope come. They shoot six, eight nice fat ones. They shoot one each house Kuyu Illik. They let rest run 'way. We have all meat we want. When white man come, he shoot, shoot, shoot. Kill all antelope. Kill all elk. Then he bring cattle, make Indian buy beef.

When Indian get hungry, he go with gun shoot some quail, maybe cotton tail, maybe dove. White man 'rest him, put in jail. Now my people no keep gun. They no have rifle; they no have shotgun in house. When my people shoot, white man 'rest him.

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My mother found almost all of her relations there at Chawlowin. Her brother had his family there and two or three of her uncles were there, too. They had all come back to that camp from Tule River Reservation, where the soldiers had taken them from Tejon Ranch. They wanted to stay at their old home. These people did not go back to the old village at the mouth of Deer Creek and White River because they were afraid the soldiers would come back and get them. They were hid in the tules in *tumlus* (toom'-loos) houses at the north side of the Island.

In a few days my stepfather's brother came to the camp. He had left his team and wagon on the land east of Chawlowin where he could look after them once in a while.

The tumlus house was a quick house to make. They cut it in the green tules. We lived in one of these houses about three months, until it was too cold to stay any longer. They were good houses when the north wind did not blow. Then we used to wake up with water in our beds. We would have to go to the higher ground until the water went back. The water in the lake got lower all of the time, so when we left Chawlowin it did not come in the tumlus houses any more.

We could not get anything to eat but meat and fish and tule roots at Chawlowin. We had lots of fish. Some of the men caught ducks in a string net on the end of a pole. That was hard to do. They did it when the north wind was blowing. Then the ducks flew very slow against the wind, close to the tops of the tules. The hunter sat on a wooden seat almost at the top of the tules.. He had tules tied around him so that the ducks could not see him. Once my mother's brother caught a duck in his hands that way.

They caught ducks in the water with strings, too, but I do not know how they did it. I saw them take the ducks out of the strings, but I never saw them put the strings there. The men always did that.

Once in a while the men killed an elk at Chawlowin. There were more there than on the land outside the lake in those days. They shot the elk with bow and stone pointed *kots* [obsidian] arrows. The arrows had a short loose wood point.

When they shot the elk it ran and rubbed against the tules to pull the arrow out. The back part fell out, but the front end stayed in. The hunters followed the elk. After awhile the elk was so sick they could catch him and kill him. I heard of the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

old-time Indians catching elk with a rope like a reata fastened to an oak tree. They bent a limb down to hold the rope. I never saw that, but I am sure they did it.

Once, while we were at Chawlowin, we caught *sah'-pahl* [jack rabbits]. We called the drive *How'-sik Ho-ah'-mah.* There were only about fifty of us to help, but we caught about three hundred rabbits. I helped with two or three other drives near Armona, too. We went to the land east of Chawlowin to catch the rabbits. Most of us just waded across. The water was just up to our waist at the deepest place.

There were thousands of jack rabbits in the brush around the lake. We could see at least three hundred in the open places at one time. We drove them toward the net and made a close line to hold them. Everybody had a stick to throw at the rabbits. We called it *wah-traw'-he.* It was not crooked. It was almost straight. We killed lots of the rabbits with the sticks before they got to the net. When we threw the stick it whirled around and broke their legs if they were running. It was easy to kill jack rabbits with wahtrawhe if you got close to them. Sometimes they would sit quiet until you were right close. If you looked close you would see them and hit them before they jumped up.

When the rabbits got close to the net two or three men ran in with their clubs and killed them. The rest of us stood close together and kept them from running away.

The rabbits were skinned and the meat dried. We did this on the land east of the lake before we went back to Chawlowin. Dried rabbit meat was good with salt from salt grass on it. The skins we cut up to make blankets and capes.

There were lots of fish in Tulare Lake. The one we liked best was *a'-pis,* a big lake trout. They were real big fish, as big as any salmon, and good meat. There was another called *took'-mun.* I think the white people called it chub. It was not a very good fish.

One of the lake fish was *pahl-hoo'-ish.* It was the one you call sucker. Sometimes the steel-heads came in the lake too; so did the salmon. We called the steel heads *tah-wah'-aht* and the salmon *ki'-uh-khot.* We dried lots of fish. When it was dried and smoked, the salmon was the best. We ate salt grass salt with the dried fish. That made it good.

Another great big fish used to come in the lake sometimes. I remember that we caught one at Heuumne when the water was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 166 361 fourteen years old. Then my stepfather took us back to Kings River.

While we were at the "Fish" Rice ranch the last time, I helped the Indians there catch some antelopes. It was the last time they ever caught antelopes that way. We held the *Tahdwusk* (Tah'-doo-woosk) surround on Outside Creek 159 where the road now goes from Tulare to Lindsay. One or two 224 of our men went out in the field near the antelopes and lay down on their backs. They fastened pieces of cloth to their feet and kicked them in the air.

The antelopes ran 'round and 'round, looking at the cloths the two men were waving. Each time they came closer. While they did this our people came in from all ways and made an Indian fence around them. They came up close to the antelopes. Then the two men in the middle began shooting and killed about ten before we let them go.

159 One of our men did not get enough meat. His name was *Wahcoy* (Wah'-coy). The next day he went back alone to kill 224 some antelopes for himself. He fixed an antelope skin with 165 the head and horns on it and put it over his head and back. Wahcoy sneaked along the creek to a place where the antelopes came in to drink. Then he walked out on his hands and knees in the grass toward the antelopes.

Two white men were hid in the same creek about one hundred yards away. They were hunting antelopes, too. They saw the Indian. They thought he was an antelope and shot him. The man who shot him was Hi Willis. Hi Willis was a young man. He lived were the white people have Mooney Grove now. His father owned that ranch.

Hi Willis brought Wahcoy's body to our camp at Sulawlahne. Wahcoy lived with his father and mother right next to our house. He was shot through the chest below the right shoulder. He did not die right away when they shot him. He told them where to take him.

Some of the Indians thought that Hi Willis shot Wahcoy on purpose, but I think he thought Wahcoy was an antelope all right. It was easy to make that mistake. But our people decided not to hunt any more antelope. There was only a little bunch left out there anyway. The white people killed the rest of them.

159 The Indians at Sulawlahne called Elk Bayou *Traw'-it*. I 103 used to know the names for all of the creeks, but I have for-
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4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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cases moderately strengthened by reverential observances such as abstinence from its flesh (compulsory for a totemite), propitiation by prayer and eagle-down offerings, dream contact, and possession of a sacred symbolic talisman. In most highly developed form for shamanistic or power quests, these behaviors became a personal preoccupation essential to the maintenance of a beneficent attitude on the part of the animal tutelary.

The reverence for Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Bear, Coyote (and lesser creatures in lesser ways) was actualized in ceremonies performed over their carcasses by persons of those lineages they symbolized, and witnessed by the usual audience of interested and, in part, participating villagers. The hunters of deer had to observe care in handling their kill. The underlying motive of these acts was that animals who were not "treated right" on this earth, at death reported to their prehistoric counterparts in their eastern home, and the offended creatures would no longer give their support (as either a subsistence or a power source) to the transgressor.

Although in theory it was the primordial animal in its vague eastern home which motivated its living counterpart, it was the latter with which the people were concerned. The reverential relation was a direct one, and in turn it was from the actual animal that help came. Many anecdotes from Yokuts and Mono describe how the tutelary suddenly appeared in a moment of need, though the mechanism of help, beyond a mere appearance, is left undefined—presumably it was "power" (ti·pni) that forced success.

The personal-and-animal association was formalized socially in professional shamanism and politically in the official capacities of chief, messenger, and dance manager—cultural elaborations which have been described elsewhere. And the informal culture of Yokuts and Western Mono abounded in minor, casual usages and references to faunal life.

For the sake of rounding out the picture and not emphasizing exclusively the aspect of culture with which we are concerned, a brief note should be made of Yokuts rituals which were not related explicitly to the extra-personal world. Brief is sufficient, for there was only one set of rituals, that for "life crises," which were not engaged with or dependent upon some seasonal condition in nature. These were the naming of an infant, the mother's cleansing rite, girl's puberty (betrothal) rite,[21] and the private mourning ceremony. With the exception of the naming ceremony all were ritual cleansing ceremonies following the

21 A formal marriage by gift exchange might occur after the betrothal at first menses, but the two rites were not clearly separated by Yokuts and Western Mono; either or both might be made, but the second was not emphasized and seldom followed the first.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

and he made his name feared and dreaded for many a score of miles around. He "bound out" his subjects at will, adults and children alike, to the ranchmen, on life-long indentures.

Nai-ak'-a-we was a famous prophet of the Chŭkchansi, who died in 1854. It is said that his name was known and his power was acknowledged from King's River as far north as Columbia; but this seems hardly probable. Naiakawe had a lofty ambition, and he meditated great and benevolent designs for his people, but he was doomed to disappointment. He sought to mollify those miserable janglings and that clannishness which have been so fatal to the California Indians from time immemorial; to reconcile the warring captains of villages and chiefs of tribes, and thereby harmonize them into one powerful nation, peaceful at home and respected and feared abroad. But the question of a food-supply was one which this savage statesman, however able and far-sighted, could not master. In ancient times they had immense herds of elk and deer, and, sweeping over the plains on their swift mustangs, they could shoot down at any time a fat bronco bogged by the lake (for the Indians of this State used to eat horse-flesh, until the influence of the Americans gradually induced them to abandon it); but now all these were gone, they had to scatter into families to collect food, the wretched feuds of the petty captains were eternally breaking out afresh, and Naiakawe beheld one hope after another and one noble design after another pass away; so he died at last broken-hearted. He said he did not wish to survive the ruin of his people.

Another notable characteristic of the Yokuts is the great influence and extensive journeyings of their wizards or rain-makers (*tĕss*). Ke'-ya, who lives at Woodville, is one instance; but the most remarkable is Hop-ōd'-no. Though living at Fort Tejon, he has by his personal presence, his eloquence, and his cunning jugglery, made his fame and authority recognized for two hundred miles northward, to the banks of the San Joaquin. In 1870, the first of two successive years of drought, he made a pilgrimage from the fort up as far as King's River, and at every centrally-located village he made a pause and sent out runners to collect all the Indians of the vicinal villages to listen to him. In long and elaborate harangues he would promise them to bring rain on the dried-up earth, if they would contribute

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

411 diameter. When not used the bow was unstrung, and the string tied around the left limb of the bow, and to prevent the slightest lesion of either the bow or the string the former had a section of fur from some animal's tail, about four inches long, slipped on to it.

Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves out of button-willow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint-heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter, lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the [224] probable length of the shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should pronounce the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak! An old hunter says he has seen an Indian stand a hundred paces distant from a hare, slowly raise his long, polished bow, shoot a quick glance along the arrow, then send it whizzing through both his enormous ears, pinning him fast to a tree behind him.

324 411 Some mention was made in Chapter XI of the manner in which flint arrow-heads are made. Mr. E. G. Waite, in a communication to the *Overland Monthly*, gives the following description of the method employed both in Central California and among the Klamaths, as he witnessed it in an early day:

"The rock of flint or obsidian, esteemed by the natives for arrow-pointing, is broken into flat pieces, after the manner usually described. When the pieces have reached a proper size for arrow-heads the mode of finishing it is in this wise: The palm of the left hand is covered with buck-skin held in its place by the thumb being thrust through a hole in it. The

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 instance, goods which cost them at the store $5 they sell among themselves for $3, or thereabout. This is done by the old Indians, who consider an Indian dollar better than an American.

252 They say that, in remote times, they were accustomed to rub their acorns to flour on a stone slightly hollowed, like the Mexican *metate*, which [173] was a suggestion of the mouse; but nowadays they pound them in holes on top of huge bowlders, which was a suggestion of the wiser coyote. On a [172] bowlder in Coarse Gold Gulch, I counted eighty-six of these acorn-holes, which shows that they must have been used many centuries.

283 For snaring quail, rabbits, and other small game, they employ cords ● 224 made of a kind of "wild flax" found in the Sierra. I presume this "wild flax" is milkweed (*Asclepias*).

272 Manzanita cider is made of a much better quality than the wretched stuff seen among the Wintūn. After reducing the berries to flour by pounding, they carefully remove all the seeds and skins, then soak the flour in water for a considerable length of time. A squaw then heaps it up in a little mound, with a crater in the center, into which she pours a minute stream of water, allowing it to percolate through. In this way she gets about a gallon an hour of a really delicious beverage, clear, cool, clean, and richer than most California apple cider. The Indians consume it all before it has time to ferment, so that they do not get intoxicated on it.

226 In the mountain streams which empty into Tulare Lake they catch lake trout, chubs, and suckers. Sometimes they construct a weir across the river with a narrow chute and a trap set in it; then go above and stretch a line of brushwood from one bank to the other, which they drag down stream, driving the fish into the trap. Another way is to erect a brushwood booth over the water, so thickly covered as to be perfectly dark inside; then an Indian lies flat on his belly, peering down though a hole, and when a fish passes under him he spears it. The spear is pointed with bone, and is two-pronged. Still another method is employed on Tule River and King's [48] River. An Indian takes a funnel-shaped trap in his teeth and hands, buoys 501 himself on a little log, and then floats silently down the rapids, holding the net open to receive the fish that may be shooting up. On Tulare Lake they construct very rude, frail punts or mere troughs of tule, about ten feet

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope. Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.